Early Missions.

Rev. C. HOLE.

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Early missions to and within
the British Islands

Number

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TO AND WITHIN

THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

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BY THE

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PREFACE.

THE following chapters, which appeared originally in the pages of 'Church Work,' seek to account for the origin of the Church in Britain, to describe the various ways by which our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were first brought acquainted with the blessings of Christianity, and to show how the separate Missionary Churches ultimately grew into that one Church of England which we have inherited to this day.

As regards the first of these aims, it is too often forgotten perhaps that the problem is to bring into Britain not a sporadic Christianity, but a Church. The former may have been the fruit of ordinary human intercourse even in apostolic times, but any definite indications of it must elude our research.

A Church is a special and systematic work requiring the hand of some other Church to plan, execute, and follow up. This consideration considerably reduces our difficulty; for when we have discovered all the other Churches within reach and considered their circumstances, the source which we are in search of seems to be within reach.

The direct authorities for the view which we obtain of the early British Church at various periods are, it is well known, the Fathers of North Africa and the East. But how much we lose when their words are drily quoted without so much as a hint of their connections! We might indeed wonder why the Christians of the Mediterranean should have concerned themselves at all with a brotherhood in so remote a land. They had however excellent reasons for doing so; and deeply interesting to us is the result. It is not too much to say that if we will take the trouble of listening to those distant voices in all their tones of warmth and exultation, we obtain much more than an idea of the reality of this Church; we feel the importance of it as well, and observe it moving and acting in the great family of Churches, quite a different thing from a cold antiquarian knowledge of its mere existence like the scratches on a map of polar discovery.

For the Anglo-Saxon branch of our subject we have of course Bede and Gregory's Letters—priceless monuments spared to us from the literary wreckage of the centuries. There is not a single nation of the Heptarchy whose Church in its origin and early growth is not from these sources more or less fully revealed to us. The venerable monk—we forgive him all his credulous concomitants for the sake of the hard facts which stand out from them clearly distinguishable. The great variety too in the histories of these seven Churches is an attractive feature of the tale. Now it is a royal marriage, now a royal friendship, that paves the way for a Christian Mission. Then again the warmth and eagerness, nay the personal efforts, of various royal converts in propagating the new faith, are very striking characteristics of Bede's history. It is also interesting to watch—for Bede has happily preserved them—what were the elements of the Christian revelation which especially attracted their sympathies, in contrast to what they had in their own paganism. In relating all these things Bede is full of picturesque incidents artlessly presented, and often in such brief terms as to be overlooked by the inattentive reader. Some of those incidents we can often make more picturesque to our own imagination if we will but reflect that the scene of them was Roman Britain, a Roman Britain that had as yet been little interfered with by the Saxon immigrants. We follow the footsteps of the Christian Apostles along Roman roads, view churches rising within standing Roman walls; we can associate an existing Roman amphitheatre, the very Wall of Hadrian too, with striking Christian scenes and events; we can connect some old English streams whose Bedæan names are still familiar to the ear with impressive pictures of the conversion history. The growing interest which old

England is yearly acquiring through the recovery of its antiquities, causes interest in the old Church likewise to grow and grow in a way our fathers had little experience of. How greatly the pages of Bede have helped in all this is familiar enough to his readers, and no one who has ever attempted to tell the story can omit to express gratitude to him. What gropers in English Church History should we have been but for his pages! But not in our Church History alone: how ignorant should we be of the secular aspect also of our Saxon ancestors, had he not sat down to edify his contemporaries and stir them up to religious emulation in maintaining the ground won for them by the first planters of their faith. Just the man was he to appreciate and delineate the indomitable zeal, the simple and unworldly piety, of those who taught, as well as those who received and taught again, the Christian faith in Britain.

The readers of modern mission literature will certainly be struck with one thing in this history—the ease and rapidity of the various national conversions when once begun. No sooner have the king and court of an heptarchal state been baptized and the missionaries admitted, than the revolution is spoken of as effected and the very year of it is named. How different from the modern plan with its laborious efforts to gain the catechumen and its patience in confirming and testing him! In an heptarchal national conversion the method was simply this: Heathenism as a system of worship was by a public law abandoned, and then it remained for the teacher to get it out of the public heart as well as he could. Nevertheless, the facility with which the aristocracy doffed the old and donned the new, the multitude following their leaders, cannot but arrest attention. An explanation is to be found, as we think, in the following circumstances, apart from the power possessed by the Christian revelation when pressed home by teachers who are in true harmony with it. 1. Paganism at that period was everywhere in the descendant, and among the most powerful, cultured, and influential communities rapidly disappearing. With Gaul and Spain become Christian, Anglo-Saxon paganism was behind the times, and its days were numbered. 2. Anglo-Saxon paganism was rude and unlettered, a system unsupported by the spell of hoary writings or by ancient and enthralling architecture. 3. Above all, Anglo-Saxon paganism was an uprooted religion. It had left its native soil in the continental forests where it had all the associations and traditions to itself; it had come to a land of roads, towns, and civilization, a land of Christian walls and Christian memories, where it never could and never did strike a new permanent root. It was in fact a sickly plant which Hengist and Horsa, the Ashings and the Gewissi, brought over, doomed from the first to perish as it did.

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EARLY MISSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST MISSIONARIES TO BRITAIN.

It need not occasion surprise to learn that no direct historical evidence, and scarcely any definite tradition worthy of attention, can be adduced to show how Christianity was first planted in Britain; for much the same is to be said in regard to most of the countries whose Churches are known to have originated in the early centuries after the apostolic period. It is, in fact, quite the exception if the leader of a primary Christian Mission in the second or third century, with his dates and circumstances, can be ascertained. Sometimes, however, an approximation can be arrived at, with more or less success, and this is happily the case with the Churches of Gaul and Britain. As to the early Gallic Church, so much does it suggest as to its British sister, that some little previous attention to it is here necessary.

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Not later than A.D. 150, probably a little earlier, Christianity found its way into the district watered by the lower Rhone, more particularly at Lyons, and at Vienne further down. They were Greeks from Asia Minor who brought it, and thus Greeks were the founders of the earliest known Christian community in Gaul. Nor is that fact difficult of explanation. Greeks had, for centuries, been at home in that corner of Gaul, as the venerable Greek colony of Marseilles had proved the inlet of a constant stream of commerce, which, pushing far up the Rhone, and spreading right and left, had Grecized the entire district. An illustrious member of that Christian community, who has conferred upon it no little distinction, was the Greek Father Irenæus, presbyter, and afterwards Bishop, of Lyons. His well-known treatise, *Against Heresies*, touches our subject, and in the following manner. In a passage of the first book, a portion of the work Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs consider to have been written in or about A.D. 176, the author takes occasion, in illustration of his subject, to notice various countries within his range of vision where the Christian faith was received, among them Spain and two districts of Gaul. One of the latter was, as he calls it, the land of the Celts, this being, undoubtedly, Gallia Celtica, as the region was named wherein his own city of Lyons stood. The other, which he calls 'Germany,' was undoubtedly that strip on the Gallic side of the Upper Rhine whereupon a German population from across the river had established itself, the strip now represented by Alsace and Lorraine. This interesting passage of Irenæus thus acquaints us with the extent of Gallic Christendom at that period. No Christian spot can be discovered in Mid Gaul, North Gaul, West Gaul, nor anywhere in Gaul, except in the remote south-east and in the extreme east-central. We may feel pretty confident of this; for, in fact, Gallic Church History does not recognize any general spread of Christianity over Gaul before A.D. 250. It should further be noted that no sign of the existence of Christianity at this early period, in Germany proper, can be detected, either in this passage of Irenæus or in any other writer; nor does Church History recognize the commencement of German Christianity eastward of the Rhine until long after the period when Irenæus flourished. Finally, we note that our passage from Irenæus is silent as to any Church in Britain, though it was assuredly in his way to notice it, had he known of one. When, therefore, we bear in mind how much territory there was yet left for the Church to win in the north of Europe below the British seas, any expectation we may have formed of finding Britain at this date within the pale of Christianity will be diminished.

In the year 177, immediately after the estimated date of Irenæus's words, a terrible affliction befel the Christians of the Rhone cities, viz., a persecution by which their interesting Church, apparently the sole hope and seed-plot of Gallic Christianity, was all but exterminated. Of that occurrence there survives an authentic account, quite beyond suspicion, being nothing less than a contemporary letter, written from the spot, among the sufferers themselves, addressed to their fellow Greek Christians in Asia Minor, and now to be read in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. Every reader of Church history knows it well, for no manual, however cursory, omits it, and no reader who studies his subject attentively ever forgets it. Two names alone suffice to mark it for memory, one that of the venerable Bishop Pothinus, the other that of the slave-girl Blandina.

Now here a conjecture arises. Might the fugitives of this persecution have been the missionaries who planted the Christian Church in Britain? The conjecture as we examine it seems to gather plausibility.

1. In the first place such a sequel to their sufferings would closely harmonize with a memorable injunction and follow a distinguished precedent, viz.:—"When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another" (Matt. x. 23); and "They that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word" (Acts viii. 4; cf. xi. 19). It was a noble characteristic of the primitive Church never to

abandon the heavenly cause. Individuals might succumb to the fiery trial, but some were commonly left with life and courage to carry the Divine seed elsewhere. The narrative of the martyrdoms in the Rhone cities reveals a vitality in the Christian body there quite sufficient to inaugurate a new and distant enterprise to Celts beyond the seas.

2. Lyons and Vienne were in the direct route to Britain, lying upon that road which, running up the Saône valley towards the Straits and Rome's important province, must have been much frequented and well known; or, if at such a juncture, that way proved dangerous, there was an obscurer horse track followed by returning tin merchants, as they wended their way from Marseilles and the Rhone basin towards the Cornish vessels which would lie in the northern harbours.

3. Our conjecture is supported in part (*i.e.* so far as relates to the *locality*) by the circumstance that at a later period of its history the British Church is found observing customs differing from some prevailing in the West, and which their traditions affirmed had been handed down to them from St. John's teaching. Such a tradition is exactly accounted for if their origin was from the Churches of the Rhone, since that origin implies a derivation from the Asiatic Greeks, among whom St. John's concluding ministry was spent.

4. Our conjecture coincides in respect of *period* with an independent tradition familiar to the readers of British Church history, one labouring indeed under some grave suspicions, and not without a few fictions adhering to it, yet possibly preserving grains of fact. The tradition is that of the British King Lucius receiving missionaries from the Bishop of Rome. Now it is a circumstance we cannot avoid noticing in the inquiry which now engages us, that the period assigned to Lucius and his missionaries is just about that of the persecution of Lyons, a coincidence which may be something more than accidental.

5. But what more than anything else adds plausibility to our conjecture is the following:—The African Father Tertullian, writing about A.D. 208, makes express mention of Christianity in Britain, the earliest anywhere occurring, and for that reason exciting our keenest curiosity. His words are few, but decided: "Places among the Britons unapproached by the Romans but subdued to Christ." Now words like these indicate a mission of some standing. A British Christianity whose fame had reached Africa, one which had acquired an authenticity that could be so taken for granted before a hostile literary world, must have been out of its cradle and have acquired vigour and stature. Some years, therefore, must have passed since the first Christian mission to Britain; and if about

thirty-one years should be thought not an unreasonable allowance, that would take us back to A.D. 177.

6. Nor must we omit to note that we are now divining not the beginnings of Christian knowledge in Britain, but the incoming of a Church. From the very days of the Apostles probably soldiers, traders, immigrants made known the truth upon our shores, but they could not originate bishops, priests, and deacons. Churches spring by distinct mission from parent Churches, and their infancy must be sustained by a regular stream of communication.

7. Finally, we have to remark that if the British Church was not a propagation from the Rhone Churches, there is no other source we can point to within anything like reasonable reach of the country, except, perhaps, Gallic Germany, mentioned by Irenæus, and not otherwise known to us in connection with the Church history of this period. It used to be supposed that Christianity reached Britain from the East by the long sea voyage in the wake of the tin trade carried on by the Phœnicians with Cornwall. The Phœnicians, however, who visited Cornwall were not those who inhabited Phœnicia proper, but colonial Phœnicians, and more particularly those of Gades or Cadiz, and that, too, was centuries prior to Christianity. In the period now under consideration, Cornish tin commonly reached the Mediterranean overland through Gaul to Marseilles.

If, then, we may assume our conjecture to be worth entertaining, that the missionaries who planted the British Church were from the banks of the Rhone, men who knew Irenæus and inherited through him recent memories of Polycarp, and no distant ones of St. John—members of that noble band of confessors whose warm and resolute attachment to the faith is apparent in every line of the touching letter in Eusebius—let us return to Tertullian's words, written in or about A.D. 208.

What was it that gave rise to them? He was composing his treatise *Against the Jews*, and in the course of an argument showing how the promised Messiah must have already come, he noticed the striking fact, a fact which greatly impressed the Christians of those days as they watched the progress of the Church, that countries the most distant from the source of Christianity, as well as those contiguous to it, peoples the most unlike to one another, nations cultured and uncultured, speaking different tongues, trained under the most opposite superstitions, all alike opened their gates to the Gospel of Christ, paying Him allegiance and owning Him Lord. Was not that, demanded Tertullian, a proof that His name was a power in the world, and that He had come indeed? As an example of remote and unlikely tribes, Tertullian, in the terms we have noticed, cites the Britons, much as we should now appeal in behalf of the truth of Christianity to any striking success of its heralds in the remotest and most unpromising of nations. For English Christians, then, there is this fact to impress them, that the earliest known words which connect their country's name with Christ occur in a passage which makes Britain contribute to an argument for the truth of Christianity. The existence of a Church in Britain was relied on as one of the proofs that Messiah was come.

What then, let us ask, was the Britain of A.D. 208, Tertullian's period, in which that band of Christian pioneers was working? The Romans had then been in secure possession of their province in Britain (which comprised less than the entire island) for 124 years, having obtained the mastery of it in A.D. 84. Their roads, public works, and palatial villas, abounded in all quarters, more particularly towards the south, though one work of surpassing grandeur, Hadrian's barrier wall, dignified the north. The seat of Government was not London, as might have been imagined, but York, where the vigilant eyes of all the ablest commanders kept incessant watch upon the great rampart, beyond which they did not aspire to advance. We might naturally suppose, then, that "the spots unapproached by the Romans but subdued to Christ" lay beyond the wall. That was probably the case, yet Tertullian's words do not *limit* the Christian Church to the localities he is defining.

They simply assert that the conquests of Christ were in advance of those of Rome, without saying they were nowhere else. They do not in the least forbid us to suppose that Christian worship and teaching was not prospering in some of the Romanized districts of Britain where the humanity of the local governors suffered it to remain unmolested. Nothing in Tertullian's words would be inconsistent with the existence of a Church and congregation in London itself.

Finally, we think of that fragment (if it were so) of a shattered Church, the Church of Pothinus and Irenæus, transferred to a securer spot beyond the arm of Rome—a spot ever difficult to reach—pursuing a new career and a great enterprise. But whencesoever derived, the British Church is revealed to us when we first get sight of it, as emphatically a missionary Church. Tertullian's words, by one happy touch, 'subdued to Christ,' bring her in a moment before us in that aspect, a Church engaged in a great warfare and winning no contemptible conquests, setting up her trophies where the legions had not trodden. They are noble words to be treasured up by the Church of this land, inspiring her to an ever-advancing assault upon the powers of darkness; to subdue to Christ places which the arms of even Britain have not yet reached.

The voice, then, which reveals to us the British Mission, and but for which we should not have known of its existence, reaches us, not from Britain, but from the Mediterranean. It was long before any writer arose in Britain; but in the East the Fathers of the Christian Church were already in full literary activity, and it is there we must discover whatever is to be found of Christianity in Britain. The Mediterranean world was the 'old world' of those days; 'our world' they called it themselves. There it was that the great battle of Christianity was being fought. There it was that the intellect of the day was putting forth all its power either for Christ or against Him. There the Christian advocate found an argument, as well as a consolation, when he could point to distant tribes outside his world who had submitted to the faith. In such surveys Britain usually had a place; and with the Britons were often mentioned the Moors, another remote and uncultured race in the far west of North Africa. To trace the British Church in the writings of these warm Mediterranean Christians, until voices begin to reach us from Britain itself, is the special interest of the study of early British Church history.

After Tertullian, the next Christian Father who notices Britain is Origen, a Greek of Alexandria and Palestine in the third century. Dwelling on the thought of Christ being the power of God in the hearts of the faithful among all mankind, he breaks out:—"The power of our Lord and Saviour is with those who in Britain are divided from our world; it is with those in Mauritania; it is with the whole body of believers beneath the sun." This was written in Palestine after 231. About 239 he penned a stirring passage suggested by the words, "All the earth shouts for joy":—"Never before the advent of Christ did the whole world unite in one shout of joy. When did Britain, when did Mauritania, when did all mankind, previous to the coming of Christ, consent in the religion of the one God?" In 246 he was considering the words, "The Gospel must first be preached in all the world," and dwelling on the thought of how much of the prophecy remained unfulfilled. Here he casts his eye over a wide range, and beholds distant nations who have not heard the truth at all, such as the farther Ethiopians, the Chinese, and other remote Orientals; then others who are but partly converted, as the *Britons*, the Germans, the Barbarians, Dacians, Sarmatians, Scythians.

Such was the spirit that animated Tertullian, Origen, and other early champions of Christianity who followed them. They had no misgivings of their cause. They beheld it conquering in all directions; they felt perfectly sure that it would go on to conquer: and what makes their words additionally precious to us in Britain, is the circumstance that the conversion of this island was one of the victories of the Cross which especially cheered them.

CHAPTER II.

THE BRITISH CHURCH AND ITS EARLIEST MISSION.

The British Church, revealed to our view by the words of Tertullian in or about 208, held on its way for the succeeding century on sufferance only, unrecognized by law, and at any time liable to a violent extinction. In 303 broke out the ten years' persecution of Diocletian—that last great war between Paganism and the Church—carried on in all the countries of the Roman Empire. Britain contributed only a very few to the roll of martyrs; the most eminent of these being Alban, who suffered probably in 304. This martyrdom interests us on more accounts than one. In the first place, it is the earliest event in the recorded Church history of Britain. All we know of the British Church to this date is its existence, and the interest it excited in its distant friends; but as to any of its internal occurrences we have been in the dark, and the martyrdom of St. Alban is the first that we can fairly recognize. In spite of the inevitable legendary embellishments which cast their cloud of discredit over the story, we can trust the bare fact at any rate, that Alban suffered at Verulam in 304.

Then, secondly, it reveals the British Church existing where we have had no proof of it before, viz. *within* the Roman pale, for Verulam was a Roman city of the first rank in Britain. Moreover, there is implied in the bare fact of martyrdom an earnestness and vitality pervading the Christian profession, which are still more apparent if we can trust the main incidents of Alban's conversion and condemnation. He is a pagan of Verulam, shelters a Christian cleric flying from his persecutors, is won over to the faith by witnessing his guest's incessant prayers day and night, confesses Christ, and suffers. Being interested on all these accounts, we become unusually inquisitive as to the foundation and authority of the story of St. Alban. Who answers for the name, the date, the place, the incidents? There will be some reply further on; but at present we assume them all.

Let our next period of observation be the century from the end of the persecution in 313 to the withdrawal of the Romans in or about 410. Within that time what historical occurrences can be recorded for the British Church?

In 314, immediately after the toleration, she appeared by three of her Bishops (if the readings of the extant lists can be absolutely relied on) at the

Council of Arles, in the south of Gaul, towards the mouth of the Rhone; the road thither leading them through Lyons and Vienne. In 359 a larger body of her Bishops certainly attended the Council of Rimini, on the northern coast of Italy, reaching the spot probably by way of Lyons and the Little St. Bernard Pass. With two other great and much more distant Councils she made contact, though not by attendance, viz. that of Nicæa in 325, and that of Sardica (Sofia) in 343 or 347, receiving their decrees and acknowledging unity with them in Easter observance and orthodox doctrine, obtaining thereby honourable mention by the Emperor Constantine, and by St. Athanasius himself.

These facts reveal the British Church, not as some isolated and neglected branch, but as an integral portion of the Church universal, taking an active share in the momentous questions agitating that important fourth century. The Fathers of this century also recognize her, and like those of the third century, show themselves both familiar with her condition and interested in it. In Palestine Eusebius, cir. 315, refers to her. In 358 St. Hilary of Poictiers, then in the East, mentions her Bishops among those who have escaped that great infection of the day, the Arian heresy. In 363 St. Athanasius includes her among the Churches of whom he remarked: "Their sentiments I know from actual investigation and from their own letters." To have elicited such a remark from that great Father, and especially so soon after the Council of Rimini, where, like the rest, the British Bishops were entrapped into an acceptance of an Arianising formula, is an honour which she might well have been proud of. In or about 387 St. Chrysostom at Antioch, in a thrilling passage, writes: "Why, even outside our world, the very British Islands, beyond this sea and in the ocean itself, have felt the power of the Word, as testified by the Churches and altars they have erected." In other places of his eloquent writings St. Chrysostom pointedly mentions her again.

St. Jerome, contemporary with St. Chrysostom, residing in Palestine, is another who was fondly watching the distant Christianity of Britain. In two places he includes the British Church with several others who were 'sounding out the death and resurrection of Christ,' 'adoring one Christ and observing one rule of faith.'

As the British Church thus interested the Eastern Fathers, so one land of the East in particular, and that was Palestine, came to have an attraction for British Christians, as it did for Christians everywhere, after the imperial family had ascertained and embellished its holy places, making them the objects of pilgrimage and devotion. The Britons, who in enthusiasm were second to none, came in for special notice in proportion to the remoteness of their home. The lady Paula, who had taken up her abode in Palestine, addressing a friend at Rome about 388, as we read among St. Jerome's letters, remarks how the Briton, ' divided from our world,' seeks the land he has read so much about in the sacred page. Travel has been natural to the Celt in every age, and he was readily put on the move by an incentive of this kind. There existed likewise an institution to facilitate his journeys to the East, in a kind of stranger's home, or hostel, set on foot by some benevolent person at Portus Romanus, the port town of Rome, mentioned in 400 by Jerome, from whose remarks it would appear to have been well known in Britain. The passage from that port to Palestine was quite a common thing. Moreover, in about 423, which is a little in transgression of our immediate limits, Britons are mentioned among the distant pilgrims who flocked to see and hear that noted pillar saint, Simeon Stylites, near Antioch.

Taking our stand now within Britain itself, let us see what idea can be obtained of its Church during the period we are reviewing, 313—410.

British Christianity passed that century with the legions in safety and also with credit, for the Court was Christian. But popular paganism survived the paganism of the Court; it lived longer, and died harder. The blow which proved mortal came in

389, when the Emperor Theodosius the Great ordered the demolition of the noted temple and statue of Serapis at Alexandria. The downfall of temples, or their conversion into Churches, everywhere followed, and in 392 the same Emperor prohibited under the severest penalties even domestic paganism, like that of suspending garlands and lights before the household idols. Thus some twenty years before the Roman armies withdrew from Britain the triumph of Christianity was complete, and in 410 the retiring eagles must have witnessed the military devotions officially and professedly Christian, or at least monotheistic.

Here a question occurs, whether archæology casts any light on the discomfiture of Roman paganism in Britain. In proof of an affirmative a curious fact has been adduced, that the statues of pagan divinities discovered in Britain are always or mostly broken. At Binchester, for instance, the Roman Vinovium, not far from Durham, there was found among the remains of an important Roman building a stone statue of the goddess Flora with its legs broken, lying face downwards across a drain as a support to the masonry above. It would certainly not be wise to press archæological facts too far; but the broken gods in Britain curiously tally with the edicts of Theodosius and the shattered Serapis at Alexandria.

Nor is the British Church entirely hidden in its own home, though direct history is so silent; for archæology, which gives us hints of the Pagan overthrow, reveals something of the Christian triumph. There are Churches still surviving with traces of Roman work in them. At Britford near Salisbury is one. Haddan and Stubbs mention another at Brixworth in Northamptonshire, and four in Kent, namely, at Richborough, Reculver, Lyminge, and Dover. The last, which is within the precincts of the Castle and has been restored, merits special attention. In its structure it is of the Roman type and of Roman strength; its plan is cruciform and Christian. Canon Puckle, to whom it owes so much, argues on structural and architectural grounds that it must have been erected by the Britons after the Roman style and before the departure of the legions. In looking at those massive walls upon the rock of Dover, the beholder may be excused a little imagination, and not a little enthusiasm, while thinking of them as in some sort representing those eminent but unknown men, who, from Tertullian to Jerome, excited the wonder of Eastern Fathers, those true and energetic saints and bishops, who subdued to Christ what Romans never reached, gave their lives for Him, maintained the standard of the faith when so many hands were lifted against it, recked not of toil or expense in visiting distant councils, warmed the hearts of Athanasius and Hilary in their tremendous conflicts, and pointed the eloquence of Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerome.

The British Church, then, which at this remote period cannot exhibit any connected series of historical occurrences, and may almost be said to have had no history, exhibits nevertheless a continuous existence and life of the most active character. We conceive of it as of one of the streams of our own dales, its waters long concealed by steep sides and overhanging foliage, but ever and anon emerging into light, gleaming with sunshine, and by its rapid current proving a continuous flow from its parent source. Only when we realize this force in the British Church can we appreciate her missions in the fifth and sixth centuries. Those missions are among the very earliest in the authentic records of the West, and to study the later ones without them is to begin in the middle of the subject. When we have become aware of the impressions created by the British Church in the very centre of the old Christian world, and in the highest order of minds; when we have reflected on the Celtic instincts of travel and enterprise, we then come to feel that its missions are a part of itself and something to be naturally looked for.

Our next convenient period comprises some forty years, A.D. 410—450, between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons, introducing us to the two names Ninian and Germanus.

Ninian was a British Bishop whose See is now represented by Whithorn, on the south coast of Galloway, all the south-west of Scotland having been at that period British land. Here the Romans had a station, which bore a name indicating 'white house,' or white houses, probably from the light stone of its buildings, or of its chief building—its Government House. The Anglo-Saxons at a later day named it Whithern, which has an equivalent meaning, and that is substantially the name still found on our maps. The dates of this Bishop are not exactly ascertained, and are arrived at through a mixture of fact, reasoning, and conjecture. For example, he is stated to have dedicated his Church to St. Martin, on hearing of that saint's death, which is believed to have occurred in 401 at the latest, and this was about nine years before the withdrawal of the Romans. Ninian was not only familiar with Roman edifices, but having travelled, had seen the finest specimens of Church building in Gaul and Rome. It may be supposed, therefore, that this Cathedral which he built was one to match the spot. It was surviving at the time of Bede (cir. 731), who says it was built of stone, 'which was not usual among the Britons,' and gave celebrity to the See. Bede must be mistaken in saying the place was named Candida Casa from this Church, as it evidently bore some similar name at an earlier date. If British Churches were, as a rule, structures of wattle and thatch, St. Martin's Cathedral at Candida Casa must have presented a most imposing contrast. We cannot resist associating it in thought with the Dover Church. On purely architectural grounds this last has been assigned to the later years of the Roman occupation—say about A.D. 400; while upon historical considerations alone, the dedication of Ninian's Cathedral is dated at about 401; so that by two independent methods of inquiry, both Churches are seen to have arisen nearly about the same time; while, again, Candida Casa and Dover were both Roman stations and both on the coast. May not the coincidence of the spots being Roman ground account for the superior structure of both Churches? And does not the additional coincidence of period make the inference irresistible, that the architecture must have been similar? If so, the existing Church at Dover helps us to conceive what Ninian's Cathedral must have been like; half Church, half castle, a sort of fabric needed in dangerous times and exposed places, besides being calculated for endurance, one in which its Bishop and 'many other saints' might rest in the flesh, as Bede says they did.

But it is the grander and more enduring Church of living souls upon which this British Bishop's celebrity chiefly rests. Bede says that he recovered from idolatry 'the Southern Picts who dwell on this side of those mountains'—he is speaking of the

Grampians. Ninian's preaching journeys among idolaters must be reckoned as ranging, therefore, for certain over that eastern group of counties lying between the Grampians and the Forth, viz. Kincardine, Forfar, Perth, Kinross, Fife, Clackmannan. Whether the Picts had quite so early expelled the Britons from the country south of the Forth is an unsettled question; if they had not, that region was Christian and within Ninian's regular pastorate, as was the western district, between the Clyde and the Solway. Thus with his home diocese and his mission work his labours extended over the south of Scotland. In Church history, Ninian is the APOSTLE OF THE SOUTHERN PICTS. To the apostle of the Northern Picts, beyond the Grampians, we shall come further on. The oldest and handsomest Church in Perth, St. John's, is believed by Scottish antiquaries to occupy the site, if it does not even contain some of the original work, of one erected during St. Ninian's mission, while dedications in his name occur over a large part of Scotland.

These labours of Ninian have this additional interest, that they constitute the earliest distinct fact in the history of Christianity in Scotland. If we ask for the dates of his Mission among the Picts, they are usually given as cir. 412—432, figures which are in some measure conjectural and rest on no very solid historical basis, but which, as there are no objections to them whatever, are allowed to pass current. That period, it will be observed, comprised about the first twenty years after the retirement of the Romans.

As our guiding thought has all along been in the direction of Missions, we may fairly concern ourselves next with the Mission which here follows chronologically, one not from Britain, but to it; directed, not to any paganism in the country, but to a heresy which had obtained a dangerous footing there. The heresy was Pelagianism; and if that was not paganism, it led, as all fundamental heresy does, ultimately to it. It was then the very age of Pelagianism, and of St. Augustine, in Africa, its great opponent, as the fourth century had been the age of Arianism and Athanasius. Now was come Britain's real danger from heresy; for from Arianism the British Church, in spite of some observations of Bede, had steadily held back. It may be that the later heresy had some natural attraction for the British mind. Its author was himself a Briton. It was not in Britain, however, that Pelagius launched his mischief, but in the countries of the East, whither he had early migrated, a missionary in the wrong sense, and in those very scenes where once had resounded the praise of British piety and British orthodoxy. The actual apostle of Pelagianism in Britain was the foreign Bishop Agricola, a man of subtle intellect, who succeeded in attracting adherents only too well, to the great alarm of the Bishops, and of all orders of the people. Having no one to cope with the rising party, they petitioned the Gallic Church in their emergency, and two Bishops, Germanus of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, were sent over 'to confirm the Britons in the Faith.' For an object that will appear presently, we here add two authorities. A Gallic chronicler, Prosper (cir. 460), informs us that the two Bishops came over in 429. A Gallic priest, Constantius (cir. 480), in a life of St. Germanus, whose younger contemporary he was, gives the account of their mission. The strangers showed themselves both good divines and popular preachers: "And the word of God was by them daily imparted, not only in the churches, but even in the streets and fields, so that the Catholics were everywhere confirmed, and those who had gone astray corrected." Their success was conspicuous in the concluding scene, which was a remarkable one. Having challenged the Pelagian champions to a public disputation, the two Bishops maintained their cause against them in the presence of 'an immense multitude, assembled with their wives and children,' and the tumultuous acclamations of this singular auditory accorded them the victory. The locality of the conflict is not named, but the narrative adds, that immediately afterwards the victors returned thanks to God at the tomb of St. Alban the Martyr.

Here is the place for something more as to Britain's protomartyr, whose name in this manner makes its first appearance in literature. According to the above authors, who wrote about 460 and 480, St. Alban's name was known, and his tomb was visited by St. Germanus, in 429, at some place where the Pelagian teachers were discomfited before a concourse of people. The rest of the story, that the martyr suffered in the persecution of Diocletian, and in 304, and at Verulam, reaches us from other sources. For the persecution we have the British historian Gildas (cir. 560) and the Gallic poet Fortunatus (cir. 580). For the year we *reason* thus: the persecution was first extended to laymen in 304, and early in 305 it ceased altogether in Britain. Here we may add that St. Alban's day, in the time of Bede (cir. 731), was June 22. For the particulars of the martyr's conversion and death the authority is Gildas. For Verulam it is Gildas, after whom Bede, after whom the founders of the great Abbey. Thus incidentally and by fragments is St. Alban's story revealed and established, and any considerations of a confirmatory character are welcome. One such in regard to period is the well-authenticated visit of Germanus to his tomb in 429, only 125 years after the alleged martyrdom. A tomb implies a church or chapel, independently of Bede's direct statement that a church *was* erected over his tomb as soon as the persecution ceased. Then, as to the place, an archæological corroboration is forthcoming. In the year 1848 a large open-air Roman amphitheatre was brought to light on the site of ancient Verulam, and how exactly such a fabric suits the story of a popular multitude gathered to a spectacle and awarding victory to the combatants by their shouts, need not be observed. The narrative of Constantius suggests, and all but names, an amphitheatre; archæology has discovered one. An amphitheatre with all its Roman associations, thronged with an assembly of eager witnesses to a theological contest on Christian doctrine, is indeed a scene to take the imagination.

The attitude itself of this ancient people, so graphically described by Constantius and Bede, is likewise a thing to strike us, but not one to surprise us, as the questions raised by Pelagianism are especially those to excite an eager interest in the religious mind. The conflict of 429 proved not any passing gust, but a controversy of a whole generation; and Germanus reappeared in 447. The proximity of this date to 450, which was about the time when the Saxon invasion commenced, must not pass unnoticed. It shows us what that popular religion of Britain was which the Saxons swept away—earnest and divided. Civil and ecclesiastical rulers in Britain are each about the very same time perplexed with their distinct difficulties; the State invites the Saxons to its assistance, the Church the Gauls; and one can hardly suppress the thought that the ecclesiastical dissension was weakening, as so often is the case, the civil arm. The Pagan missionaries, whatever it was that secured their triumph, brought the British Church and State to one common ruin.

The author of 'The Rectory of Valehead,' Archdeacon Evans, gave some of his attention to this Pelagian contest in Britain and the mission of Germanus, portraying his conception of it all in one of his 'Tales of the Ancient British Church.' In form his tale is imaginative, as written for the young, but in substance it is the fruit of a scholar's mind, and must interest others besides the young. He makes his priest of St. Alban observe to Germanus: 'I have a secret misgiving that our national character is ill-suited for self-government, and that in matters both civil and ecclesiastical we must either have a foreign master, or be torn asunder by faction and schism.'

CHAPTER III.

THE BRITISH CHURCH AND ITS LATER MISSIONS.

THE period which this sketch will occupy is about a century and a half; from the first arrival of the Saxons, cir. 450, to St. Augustine's visit to the British Church in 602 or 603. The first name that meets us is that of Patrick.

As to St. Patrick's Mission to Ireland, so widely do historical inquirers disagree, that almost any date is hazardous. By Haddan and Stubbs, following Dr. Todd, it is placed somewhere between 440 and 460. If, then, we take a round number between these figures and say 450, this was a little later than St. Ninian, and just about the time when the Saxons were beginning their conquest of Britain. As to who St. Patrick, or Patricius, was, there is equal uncertainty; but following one of our most judicious Church historians, Canon Robertson, we may conclude that he was most probably a Briton, belonging to those northern districts wherein St. Ninian laboured. Haddan and Stubbs likewise make him to have gone over to Ireland from Britain. He is not, indeed, to be regarded as the earliest missionary to Ireland; he was preceded by Palladius, who (if we can altogether rely on his personality) was sent from Rome, but retired shortly after 431. Patrick was, however, the first successful one, and on that account is honoured with the title of Apostle of Ireland. Irish Church history, therefore, begins somewhat later than Scottish, and much later than British. We should remark, likewise, that if 450 is anywhere near the date of St. Patrick's Mission, it is strikingly close to the advent of the Saxons; so that while Celtic Christianity was beginning to be limited in the East by those pagan missionaries, it was being extended in the West by the acquisition of Ireland.

It is necessary to recollect that the Saxon conquest of Britain was not any single blow, like that of William the Conqueror and his Norman army, but a series of minor invasions or immigrations, coming wave after wave, a gradual occupation by the Saxons, a gradual dispossession of the Britons, producing struggles that extended over two or three generations.

During those struggles and invasions, which began in Kent about 450, a dense darkness envelops the British Church; but in the mist are dimly discerned the two figures of King Arthur and St. David. As to Arthur, one date seems to stand out fairly certain, A.D. 520, the year of his noted victory at Badon Hill, which, wherever it was, checked for some time the Saxon advance in the far west. That date may be considered as fixing an approximate one for St. David, whose name tradition couples with that of Arthur.

In spite of this cloud, we are not the less sure that the Christianity of these islands was in vigorous activity; for as soon as the cloud disperses, a busy scene is revealed, wherein may be observed four principal centres of light, lying respectively in England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland; all of them out of the reach of the Saxon conquest. Let us notice these in order.

Glastonbury, in Somerset, is represented in tradition as one of the most venerable spots in British Christianity, and one of the first in which the Cross was planted. The story that Joseph of Arimathea founded its Church is of course legendary; but the legend is so far interesting that it implies a traditionary belief of the Oriental origin of the British Church. It might have been the locality of the original Mission to Britain. If so, it was not beyond the conquests of the Roman arms; but it was a convenient point from which a branch Mission might have penetrated far up through the western hills into regions which were. Being so far in the west, it was long safe from the Saxons, and especially after Arthur's victory of Badon Hill in 520. It was at length, indeed, cir. 655, swallowed up in the Saxon advance, but not until the Saxons had embraced Christianity, and had no motives to destroy it. Glastonbury thus escaped the fate of the Churches more easterly; its existence remained continuous from British Christianity to Saxon, and with its existence, its traditions likewise. There is extant a list of its abbots, in which a series of British names is regularly succeeded by a list of Saxon ones. The lists are not received as authentic, indeed, but they may at least bear some witness to the antiquity and continuity of the Glastonbury traditions. Beyond the bare existence of this interesting foundation nothing is known of it at this period, and the hypothetical Mission from it northwards cannot, of course, be pressed. With the spots next to be mentioned the case stands otherwise.

Bangor Iscoed, Bangor under the Wood, so named to distinguish it from other Bangors, and especially from the Episcopal city on the Carnarvonshire coast, was some twelve miles from the Roman station of Chester, on the right side of the Dee. Its name has disappeared from the ordinary map, but some ruins mark the spot, which lies in a detached portion of Flintshire. It is first revealed in 602 or 603, under the name of Bancornaburg, in the discussion of a Missionary project for the evangelization of the

Anglo-Saxons, to be noticed again presently. Bede heard of it as 'a most noble monastery,' an abode of learning, religion, and manual labour. He says of it, from report, that so great was the number of its monks that the monastery, being divided into seven parts, with a ruler over each, none of those parts contained less than 300 men, who were all wont to live by their labour.

Bangor, in Ireland, on the shore of the Bay of Belfast, was another populous monastery, and its name survives in our maps. Its first Abbot was Comgall, who founded it in 558. Comgall was a most successful promoter of Irish monachism, and died in 602. From his monastery of Bangor went forth the eminent Missionary Columbanus, of whom more hereafter.

Hy or I, now called Iona and Ikolmkill, an islet off the S.W. extremity of Mull, is now included in Argyleshire. Here was a monastery and seat of learning which exerted very great influence on Scotland, and at one period over England also. Its most famous abbot and missionary was Columba.

The four centres of religious influence here described were in activity while a cloud of darkness was hanging over our history for above a century after Ninian. When at length the cloud begins to lift, there shine out in Mission life two names in particular like twin stars, Columba and Columbanus.

Columba was rather the earlier of the two. Descended from the kings of the north of Ireland, born about 521, he entered the priesthood and devoted himself as an active Missionary in that part of his native land, where many monastic foundations are credited to him; but becoming involved in the feuds of the day he was obliged to go into exile. Putting to sea with twelve companions, he established himself on the plain dull islet already named. He came as a missionary, not as a recluse or a contemplatist. The monastic settlement, therefore, which he founded was a scene of active manual labour as well as study and devotion. Columba in particular was an ardent student of Scripture, and is said to have executed with his own hand three hundred copies of the Gospels. The Mull people flocked over to him across the narrow channel, some to be aided by his medical skill, others to share his prayers, and out of these were trained bands of disciples, who went forth in all directions under his guidance and auspices. But the foremost and ablest of all the Iona brethren was the abbot himself, and all the last half of Columba's life was spent in constant journeys among the straths, glens, and islands of the north of Scotland. He is especially to be remembered as the APOSTLE OF THE NORTHERN PICTS. Montalembert, who calls him the greatest of Celtic missionaries, devotes a large space of his eloquent work, 'The

Monks of the West,' to Columba, colouring his picture perhaps with a little of his own imagination. He bids us conceive of a "tall old man, with his fine and regular features, his sweet and powerful voice, the Irish tonsure high on his shaven head, and his long locks falling behind, clothed with his monastic cowl, seated at the prow of his coracle, steering through the misty archipelago and narrow lakes of the north of Scotland, and bearing from isle to isle, and from shore to shore, light and justice and truth, the hope of the conscience and of the soul."

Comparing, then, the two apostles of Scotland, Ninian and Columba, we note the following points. Both were of Celtic race, Ninian being a native of Britain, Columba of Ireland. Ninian was a bishop, Columba an abbot. Ninian's labours were in the south of Scotland, below the Grampians, Columba's in the north, beyond that range. Ninian's base of operations was at Whithern, Columba's was Iona, where his monastery began 131 years after the computed date of Ninian's death. Columba's life and work come before us much more definitely than do Ninian's. His principal dates are satisfactorily known, and we are able to state that after an energetic career of thirty-four years as Abbot of Iona he died in 597. This is a date well worthy of notice. It was in 597 that Augustine landed in Kent, and the interesting fact stands out that for an entire generation before the arrival of the Papal Mission, a

Celtic leader was conducting a successful evangelistic enterprise of great magnitude from his distant islet.

Iona long remained an ecclesiastical settlement, and its ruins stirred the heart of Dr. Johnson when he visited those parts. He writes: "We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion." Another Scottish writer remarks: "So numerous were the Missionaries . . . who went out from this island, so wide was the range of their movements, and so eminent was their success—indicated by their being popularly canonized—that throughout France, Italy, and other parts of Europe, all the saints of unknown origin were, at a later period, reputed to be Scottish or Irish."

Columbanus, the other great Celt, born about 543, was trained in the Irish Bangor. It was about 585, twelve years before Augustine's arrival, that the Missionary spirit seized him, and at the head of twelve companions, over whom he presided as abbot, he set out for Gaul. Nor let it seem odd that he should have gone as a Missionary of Christianity to a country like Gaul, where the Christian religion had long been rooted. Gaul at that time had not been fully possessed for Christ, nor was the Gallic Church itself possessed of that vital energy and Missionary spirit which should have carried the

Cross into its own still pagan nooks and corners. The spot to which Columbanus eventually directed his steps was a remote one in the north-east, towards the Rhine, at the foot of the southern end of the Vosges range. All that district had flourished under the Romans until it was overthrown and desolated by the invading barbarians. It was no great distance either from pagan Germany, even if its people were not encroaching, as was their wont, on the Gallic side of the river. Pioneers of Christianity did not consider solitudes out of their way, if there were untended flocks within reach. In such places lands were easily acquired, and these a colony of toiling monks would soon convert into productive farms. Scattered and helpless rural folk soon felt the attraction, and disciples flocked to the spot. What Columba effected in his dreary islet, that did Columbanus beneath the Vosges, and his settlement soon exhibited an active scene of ploughing, sowing, reaping, wood-cutting, in alternation with a punctual system of worship and instruction. None who put themselves under his care, rich or poor, were excused any part of the daily round. He held that the sick could at least thresh. He was a stern disciplinarian, and being himself the readiest workman of all and an honest pattern, was a successful one. Under his hand Luxovium, the chief Roman ruin of the district, and a very extensive one, once a noted watering-place, became the famous Monastery Luxeuil; and two more in particular, Annegray in a ruined Roman fort, and Fontaines, were of his foundation, while others of various note sprang up far and near, related to Luxeuil as daughters to a mother. Not bishops at the head of their clergy, but abbots leading a troop of monks, ordinarily in those times formed the missionary band; and the reason for this is clear. The party must be self-supporting, and the lay element (monks being laymen as a rule) must be strong where waste lands had to be reclaimed and fields to be tilled. The monastic principle of missions was therefore a necessity, and monasteries were the recognized instrumentality of breaking new ground for the Church. As such they must needs possess much interest for us, and cannot but be carefully observed by those who would understand the plans and working of missions and the progress of Christianity in those centuries. Monasteries were then in their early days in the West, and at their best in point of usefulness. They also easily lend themselves to an idealizing imagination. But we should be wise not to take too much for granted. The ideal was not always attained by those societies, and often was not so much as aimed at. But to return to Columbanus.

At length, about the year 610, he entered Germany, and in that district of it now known as Switzerland he left one of his company, an energetic Celt like himself, named Gallus, to conduct a Mission. The monastery which Gallus founded took his name, and became the mother of the canton which still bears it—St. Gall. Further on pushed Columbanus himself into North Italy, and founded the Monastery of Bobbio, in the Apennines, on the upper waters of the Trebia, a river which reaches the Po near Placentia. There he died in 615.

The Mission of Columbanus thus commenced before that undertaken by Augustine from Rome, and outlasted it. In point of enterprise the Mission of the Celt was in no way inferior to that of the Italian. There is another remark also to be made here. In the annals of early Missionary enterprise, a special interest attaches to a long succession of Missionaries who went forth from the British Isles to the Continent of Europe. In this series the Mission of Columbanus to Gaul has the honour of being the first.

One other remark should be made at this point. The Celtic Missionaries seem to have avoided the Anglo-Saxons. Columba went to the Picts; Columbanus to Gaul. Was it not somewhat natural that they should not seek the Anglo-Saxon? The two races had been everywhere for generations in violent contact, the pagan Saxons ever encroaching, the Christian Britons ever losing. With sore and bitter memories, the old chronic collisions yet unended, how were the Britons likely to prove successful instructors of their Saxon foes? Whilst, therefore, the Iona Missionaries devoted themselves to the northern Picts, and whilst Columbanus and his party spent their energies in Gaul, Germany, and Italy, it was truly providential that the Anglo-Saxons were thought of at Rome.

It was in 597 that the Italian Mission landed in Kent, and in 602 or 603 Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, journeyed into the remote west to visit what survived of British Christianity, which was then above 400 years old. It was a memorable occasion. Two conferences were held in the open air beneath a spreading oak, which afterwards became historic as 'Augustine's Oak.' The exact spot is not identified, and has to be conjectured from some general indication by Bede, compared with the course of the roads and the passages of the Severn. It was probably somewhere on the English side of the Lower Severn, north of the junction of the Avon, and not unlikely where Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs after a very careful study suggest, at or near Aust, by the old passage across the Severn, about opposite Chepstow. At the first meeting Augustine proposed that the British Church should give up their customs and old traditions, adopt the Roman time for Easter, and unite with him in preaching to the heathen Anglo-Saxons. The British Bishops replied that "they could not give up their ancient customs without the consent of their people." At the second meeting "There came" (as is asserted) "seven Bishops of the Britons, and many most learned men, particularly from their most noble monastery, which, in the English tongue, is called Bancornaburg." (Bede.) Seven British Bishops, not to mention the many learned men, chiefly from a single monastery, was no trifle after all the disasters of the Saxon advance for 150 years. The Church which had concentrated in the Welsh mountains was still a powerful body. The British party approached the oak, where Augustine was already seated, and noticed that he did not rise to receive them. They took the hint, and understood that he came to them as a master, not as a brother. It struck them at once that he, the stranger in Britain, the sole Bishop of one Church in the little kingdom of Kent, intended to lead, while they, the old and still powerful Church of the land, were to be in subjection. They—representing the British remnant—had been conquered as to their worldly rights and possessions; and were they now to surrender their spiritual liberties? That they did not misinterpret the attitude of Augustine is clear from the language of a letter he had received from the Pope:—"As for all the Bishops of Britain, we commit them to your care." It is no wonder, then, that the British Church proved uncompliant. But what was it that they refused? Not to become Missionaries to the Saxons, but to accept the supremacy of Augustine. A long and bitter separation dated from that day.

CHAPTER IV.

AUGUSTINE'S MISSIONARY JOURNEY TO BRITAIN.

Pope Gregory the Great, who sent us Augustine, at first intended to undertake the mission in his own person; and it will be worth our while to discover, as nearly as we can, when such a project entered his mind. Bede, who is our primary authority here, informs us that it was before Gregory became pope. It was, therefore, earlier than 590, the year in which he was advanced to the dignity. But we may approximate still nearer. Bede relates, but without any date, that Gregory's resolution was taken in consequence of his encountering some slave-lads from Britain in the Roman slave-market. That charming story, which is pretty well known and must here be omitted, makes mention of Ella, King of Northumbria, as then living, and Ella is known to have died in 588. We go back, therefore, beyond that figure also. On the other hand, the incident of the slave-boys could not well have occurred before 585 or 586, since it was then that Gregory, after a long absence in the East, returned to Rome. We cannot be far wrong, then, if we name 586 or 587 as the year when Gregory first thought of a Mission to the Anglo-Saxons of Britain.

The year being thus ascertained approximately, it becomes a matter of much interest to compare it with the calculated year of the Mission of Columbanus to Gaul, namely, 585. What does the comparison suggest? The possibility that the example of the Celtic Missionary stimulated the zeal of Gregory. The affairs of the Church in Gaul never remained long unknown at Rome. Another comparison of dates shows us that when Gregory was resolving on the Mission to Britain, Columba had for several years been preaching Christianity to the pagans of the Scottish Highlands. Iona and its Missions, though so remote, may also have been heard of at Rome; and if so, must have excited the interest of Gregory, a man keenly alive to all that was taking place in the Christian world. At all events it is pleasing to observe that the old British Church was in full Missionary activity before Gregory even began to think of Britain.

Gregory then, at first, in 586 or 587 let us say, resolved to head a Mission in person. He had actually quitted Rome with a body of associates, when the citizens, who could not endure the idea of parting with him, insisted on his return. Gregory was indeed necessary to them. His talents, his goodness, his rank and princely fortune, made him a very pillar of the Roman State; for it was a barbarian period, and Rome, cooped up in a poor province of her old empire, was thrown upon her own resources. Some nine or ten years afterwards, in 596, when Gregory had been pope six years, the idea of the Anglo-Saxon Mission revived. He then resided on the Coelian Hill at Rome, in a palatial abode, his private property, a portion of which he had converted into a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew. His provost, or prior, was named Augustine, and he was the man selected to head the undertaking.

The straitened condition of Rome at that period has been spoken of, and ought to be kept in view. The invading barbarians who had fastened themselves upon the fairest parts of Italy were the Lombards, a horde half pagans, half Arians, in the midst of whom Gregory's outlying flocks were scattered in isolated districts, taxing all his ingenuity and resources in providing them with clergy and keeping them from the wolf, in addition to the task of winning the Lombards themselves into the Christian fold. If it ever occurred to Gregory that straitness at home was any argument against foreign Missions, and that he should gather in all the Lombards before taking up the cause of Anglo-Saxons, he must have discarded the suggestion. He carried on home Missions and foreign Missions concurrently, and others have acted on the same principle. Some of the most prosperous of modern Missionary enterprises have been launched in the thick of home discouragements, and when all surrounding things, including the din of arms, seemed to conspire to defeat them.

In the earlier half of 596, as it must have been, Augustine went forth, not as a Bishop at the head of his clergy, but like Columba and Columbanus, as an Abbot over a body of monks. Bede does not say what route he took, nor does he tell us the name of any one of Augustine's companions, nor even the number of them, merely observing that they were 'many monks'; but some welcome information on all these points will be forthcoming as we proceed. The point Bede seems most concerned to bring out is how nearly the Mission came to a premature end. The monks "on their journey were seized with a sudden fear, and began to think of returning home rather than proceed to a barbarous, fierce, and unbelieving nation, to whose very language they were strangers." They, therefore, sent Augustine back to Rome to entreat Gregory that they might be relieved from undertaking "so dangerous, toilsome, and uncertain a journey." Now where did this halt occur? An approximation to its whereabouts will presently appear.

Augustine returned to Rome, but Gregory would not hear of their giving up. He wrote a letter for Augustine to take back, in which the following passage occurs: "Let not the toil of the journey, *nor the tongues of evil-speaking men*, deter you, but with all possible earnestness and zeal perform that which by God's direction you have undertaken, being assured that much labour is followed by an eternal reward." The letter, which is given in full by Bede, is dated July 23, 596; so here we have almost the very day on which Augustine the second time, and finally, left Rome. But as yet there is no clue to where the party are halting.

Besides this letter to his discouraged monks, Augustine brought away with him others addressed by Gregory to twelve eminent persons, of whom some are thanked for their kindness to the Mission, and others are requested to aid it. One only of these letters is given by Bede, but the rest are extant among the works of Gregory. It is from them we get the information to supplement Bede as to the course of the journey. Unfortunately two of the personages are addressed without their full designations and by their titles only, which somewhat balks us of our clue. One of these, and one whom the travellers have seen, is the 'Abbot Stephen'—without his monastery. The name of the monastery, however, happily is added in a single manuscript of the letter, which gives 'Stephen Abbot of Lérins'; and this reading is accepted, though only in a bracket, by Jaffé in the latest and best arrangement of the Papal letters, as well as by other writers of authority.

Lérins, where we first sight the track of our Missionaries, is an islet off the Gallic coast at the junction of Provence with the county of Nice. The monastery which then stood upon it was one of the earliest in the West, and produced some famous men in the first ages of the Gallic Church. By what route did Augustine and his party arrive there? We may, without much hesitation, reply by the Aurelian Way, or Great Coast Road, an important line of Roman road marked in our classical maps as starting from Rome, keeping the edge of the sea all round the Gulf of Genoa, past the Isle of Lérins, and on a little further to Fréjus, the Roman Forum-Julii. The modern line of road must on the whole represent the ancient one, since the narrow level admits of but little change, and the railway traveller by the Riviera route, as he catches sight of it, may fancy the Via Aurelia, while in any troop of passengers he may espy, he can imagine Augustine and his men plodding their way towards Gaul to reach Britain.

Augustine, on his return to his halting companions, puts off to the little island, delivers the letter to Abbot Stephen, and resumes his journey. The Aurelian Way now leaves the sea, and Augustine follows it towards Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix, in Provence), for his next letter is to be delivered to Protasius, Bishop of Aix; and here we are quite sure of the place and the man. The letter shows that Augustine had been that way before; and the Bishop is requested to use his good offices for the party. The travellers had, therefore, come to Aix; but that they were now halting there the letter gives no hint. Augustine again pushes on.

Among these letters there occur one addressed to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles; another to 'Arigius, Patrician of Gaul'; and in this last a difficulty as to locality again confronts us. The dignity of Patrician intimates, in accordance with the custom of that period, that Arigius was a provincial Governor in some part of Gaul; and, under all the circumstances, the province he governed may be conjectured, without much risk of error, to have been that of Marseilles. To Marseilles, which lay off the Aurelian Way some twenty-five miles nearly due south of Aix, there was a branch Roman road; and it may be considered highly probable that it was at Marseilles the Mission party was halting. For the letter shows that Augustine had seen Arigius previously, and Arigius is entreated to favour the travellers with a fulness and earnestness not to be found in the letter to Protasius of Aix. "With all fatherly affection," writes Gregory, "we entreat your glory that the bearer of this letter, and the servants of God who accompany him, may find at your hands every comfort in their necessities, so that, with your good countenance and the Lord's help, they may be enabled the better to carry out the duties imposed upon them." There is something else, too, to confirm the supposition of their halting at or near this spot, rather than elsewhere. Marseilles was a great centre of commerce and travel; and there they might have well heard alarming reports brought down by the tin-traders from Britain. Those reports were doubtless grossly exaggerated on purpose, for ancient traders were in the habit of thus terrifying travellers away from their distant preserves, and keeping the secret to themselves. Here then, as we will take for granted, Augustine rejoined his halting companions. There were two monasteries at which they may have met with entertainment—both of them founded by St. Cassian about 425—namely, St. Cassian's (which may have been the one afterwards called St. Victor's), in Marseilles itself, and St. Mary's, at Yvelinum, or Veaune, near Marseilles. They read the letter their Abbot has brought. Gregory will not hear of the toil of the journey, or the reports of evil-speaking men. If they have had deterrent intelligence, very different is the news that has come to him. "It hath reached our ears that the nation of the English earnestly wish, by God's mercy, to be converted to the Christian faith, but that the Bishops of the neighbourhood (*sacerdotes e vicino*) neglect them." That is an exceedingly interesting statement, occurring in another of the letters. Some one among the Anglo-Saxons was actually asking for Missionaries; the British Church and the Gallic Church were making no move.

With new heart the Italian monks and their Abbot bid good-bye to their entertainers, and, perhaps with letters from Arigius, pursue their journey along another Roman coast-road, which at length bends upwards parallel with the eastern branch of the Rhone to Arles; for the next letter is for Virgilius, Bishop of Arles. Arles, now a town of inferior rank, has seen much better days. Standing on the Rhone, just at the apex of the delta, it was the first convenient spot where the waters of the great river could be crossed. In the times of the Roman Empire, when the connection between Italy and Spain was so intimate, Arles, commanding the communication, was a place of importance. There it was that the Emperor Constantine called the great Council of A.D. 314, which the three British Bishops attended; and now, in 596, the Roman Mission to Britain finds itself in their footsteps. Arles at this time enjoyed high ecclesiastical rank: its Bishop was a Metropolitan, and a prelate of much influence in the Gallic Church. Gregory's letter to him for help to his Missionaries is couched in urgent language, like that addressed to Arigius.

The road for them now led due north, along the side of the Rhone, through the cities of Vienne and Lyons, so interesting to us as the possible source of the early British Church. To Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, Augustine carried a letter from Gregory, and also to Etherius, Bishop of Lyons.

Augustine also carried letters for the two kings of the Franks, Theodebert II., of Austrasia, and Theodoric II., of Burgundy, both of them boys, and for their grandmother, Queen Brunichild.

The capital of Burgundy, where Theodoric usually resided with his grandmother, was Châlon-sur-Saône; but the capital of another portion of his dominions was Orleans. The residence of the King of Austrasia was either Metz or Rheims. Queen Brunichild was a prominent figure in the Gallic history of her time. That Augustine visited her court is not a mere inference, for a subsequent letter of Gregory to her, in 598, thanks her for her kindness on that occasion. If the place was Châlon, a detour over the hills to the left would bring the party to Autun, for whose Bishop, Syagrius, Augustine had another letter. It is commonly inferred that the elder Gallic king was also visited, either at Metz or Rheims, in which case the party must have regained the line of the Saône and passed through Langres.

Here, then, we get a general idea of their travels northwards, and as we follow them up the Saône we think of them in the footsteps of the first Missionaries to Britain (if these were from Lyons and Vienne). On another account, too, that route interests us. For as they travelled towards the sources of that stream up to Metz, they would pass at no great distance the scene of Columbanus's Mission in and about Luxeuil. It is not impossible that Augustine and Columbanus should even have met.

Thus far all seems natural; but among the letters of Gregory there is one commending the Mission to Pelagius 'de Turnis,' who by common consent was Bishop of Tours, and it must be concluded that Augustine visited that city accordingly. But so considerable a divergence into the far west of France is not a little perplexing, and makes us feel we may be on somewhat doubtful ground here. One consideration might, perhaps, mitigate the difficulty. The Mission party had been travelling, probably on foot, slowly from monastery to monastery, lingering here and there, and as winter was not a desirable season for commencing a Mission among pagans in an unknown country, Augustine would have decided to winter in Gaul, and Tours may have offered some special conveniences. Since it is necessary to bring them to Tours, it may be worth considering whether they may not have turned westward at an earlier point, namely, *viâ* Autun and Orleans, without visiting Metz or Rheims at all.

Thus far the letters of Gregory have been our guide. But at this point there comes a writer of the period of the Norman conquest, Gosceline, whose romancing life of Augustine represents him at Angers, with a multitude of details, and a tale of persecution. Whether, therefore, from Tours or from Angers, Augustine and his party, returning to the east of France, crossed the Channel to reach their destination in 597.

The journey we have been tracing, while it acquaints us with somewhat of ancient Missionary zeal, reveals also something of the country from which the heathen Anglo-Saxons might have been Christianized and were not. The Church had then been planted in Gaul for centuries. Here was Augustine travelling from one wealthy monastery to another, from prelate to prelate, from Christian Court to Christian Court. He found a chain of spiritual posts from south to north, and perhaps from east to west; yet the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons had never been undertaken from Gaul. It was Italy that sent the teachers forth. Nay, at that very time the Irish Columbanus was Christianizing a part of Gaul itself. The inference is irresistible, that the Gallic Church was lifeless, as in fact we know from other sources that it was. Instead of being warmed and stimulated at the sight of a Mission party pushing on through the midst of them to Britain, the Gallic Christians suffered it to halt at their very threshold discouraged by evil rumours. The forms and outward presentment of monastic life, or Church life, do not in themselves win upon the imagination of the wise, but only as they are vitalized with a spirit like that exhibited by a Gregory, an Augustine, a Columbanus, a Columba, a Ninian. Ancient days as well as modern, have their examples of Churches in security being Churches without enterprise. Missionary venture often springs from adversity and cloudy times. It seems to have been so with the Rhone Churches in 177; it was so in the days of Gregory and the Lombards in Italy.

CHAPTER V.

AUGUSTINE'S RECEPTION.

It was in 597, as we learn from the chronological summary at the end of Bede, that Augustine landed, and that it was in the spring we may fairly conclude from the fact that he had been spending the winter in Gaul. His party numbered, as we now first learn, 'nearly forty men,' and these included interpreters furnished by the Franks. They landed in Thanet, that corner of Kent which now contains Margate and Ramsgate. At that time Thanet was a true island, and since it is no longer so, it will be interesting to note Bede's description of the locality, a little more than a century after the arrival of the Mission. "On the east of Kent is the large isle of Thanet, containing, according to the English way of reckoning, six hundred families, divided from the other land by the river Wantsum, which is about three furlongs over, and fordable only in two places, for both ends of it run into the sea." On the southern end of this channel, which broadened towards the sea considerably, and on the side opposite Thanet, the Romans had placed a fortress, which, commanding one of the principal landing-places from Gaul and a main road into the interior, was of no mean importance. It must have been standing in its strength when Augustine arrived, for its massive remains, under the name of Richborough, are still the pride of Kentish archæology. At the northern end of the channel was a corresponding fortress, at a spot still bearing its Roman name nearly unaltered, Reculver; and there too are Roman remains. The opposite island was a convenient spot for strangers to disembark upon until accorded permission to enter the country. There it was that Augustine landed, and tradition calls the place where he disembarked Ebbsfleet, a word not found in Bede, but another form of Heopwins-fleet, where the Saxon Chronicle places the original landing of the Saxons. The scene has changed. The channel has dried up, leaving a flat strip of marsh and meadow with the Wantsum and the Stour trickling through it in opposite directions to the sea. It is over that flat that Roman Richborough now looks. Across the expanse, on the Thanet edge, there is a strip of ground rising above the level, and not far from it is a farm bearing the name of Ebbsfleet. There is no reason to doubt that that rising strip formed the landing-place of the Saxon invaders and the Roman Missionaries.

Sending to the royal city of Canterbury, they signified to King Ethelbert that "they were come from Rome, and brought a joyful message, which most undoubtedly assured to all who took advantage of it everlasting joys in heaven, and a kingdom that would never end with the living and true God." Ethelbert gave directions that the strangers should be hospitably treated, and in a few days himself proceeded to Thanet, where he summoned them to an audience. Being unwilling to trust himself with them in a house, "lest if they practised any magical arts, they might impose upon him, and so get the better of him," he took his seat in the open air; the consequence being that we gain one of those pictorial scenes with which Bede occasionally, but in the briefest words, charms his readers. The Christian party advanced towards him and his attendant nobles "bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board, and singing the litany they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom they were come." The interpreters standing near would acquaint the royal party with the import of that supplication, chanted in the strange tongue. We are by no means to suppose that Ethelbert could be so ignorant of Christianity as to imagine it an art of magic. Christianity was at his very doors.

It prevailed at that moment over all Gaul, and in the smaller half of Britain itself. His queen, who had come to him out of the bosom of Christianity, enjoyed freely under his protection a Christian worship, conducted by her own Chaplain-Bishop, in a substantial Church, with, doubtless, a congregation of her own Christian attendants. Unless, therefore, fear of magic was a little affectation, and the open-air reception an excuse for there being no suitable building in Thanet for a state reception of forty men, we must account for the suspicions of the occasion on other grounds. A large body of visitors, whose motives he could not account for, from a country he had no relations with, whose solemn Benedictine uniform and ceremonious ways would have been reported to him,—all this, and not their Christianity as such, must have inspired the misgivings. When, however, he came face to face with the travellers, and saw them advancing to their errand in open guise, displaying symbols that he would understand, chanting what he knew to be innocent, his suspicions, if they had ever been real, must have subsided, and he realized that he was in the presence of a new religion—that yet was not new.

It will be safe to say that Ethelbert, even if he had ever witnessed Christian worship in the Queen's Church, had never been present at a service like that. Ancient Litanies were historically and structurally processional services, requiring numbers to give them full impressiveness, and besides numbers open-air publicity. It is likewise to be remembered that these Missionaries had come from Rome and from Gregory, Gregory being one of the chief Fathers of Church ritual, as the term 'Gregorian' in music will remind us. Gregory did not shine as a theologian; he was all the pastor, and to win those pagan and half-pagan populations which had overspread the lands of Christianity into the Christian fold was a passion with him. We can well understand that he would regard as a leading instrument for his purpose the solemnities of Christian worship, and the task of rendering this more and more effective as deserving every effort of his genius. In truth, Christian worship, in the widest sense of that word, is it not in every generation and every land the pastor's grand instrument? But what is impressive and effective, and what is only unwelcome and repellent, is for the Church's discernment, having regard to who the people are, what the times are, and what the history has been. The service at Rome known to the readers of Church history as the Septiform Litany, an institution of Gregory's, was probably the most striking service of religion anywhere witnessed in those days. It was a company accustomed to the Gregorian forms and trained in them that were now in Ethelbert's presence; and taking a wider view, we may well suppose that under Gregory's auspices there occurred, from time to time, in the Lombard districts of Italy, Missionary scenes not unlike this one amidst the Anglo-Saxons of Thanet.

After the Litany Augustine, at the King's desire, made an address explanatory of the object of his Mission. Ethelbert, though so far interested in it that he promised them protection and hospitality, with permission to reside in the royal city and make what converts they could, returned home unconvinced.

To Canterbury, the Kentish capital, the Mission party now proceeded. We may fairly picture its Roman walls as standing entire, though nearly two centuries after the retirement of the legions, for Roman buildings were of great strength, and a portion of the original walls of Canterbury survived so late as a century ago. They approached the gates with their Litany and its accompaniments as before. And here Bede cites an actual passage, as follows:—"We beseech Thee, Lord, in all Thy mercy that Thy wrath and anger may be removed from this city, and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia." If it were asked what 'Thy holy house' could mean in that heathen city, we should be inclined to reply, the Christian remnant there, of which the Queen was the centre, not forgetting the ruined and desolate walls of ancient Romano-British Christianity, which, as we shall see another time, were then surviving in Canterbury. There is another touch in Bede which should not be passed over, affording as it does a hint as to how our Lord was represented in the painted figure which Augustine brought. Bede here speaks of it in fuller terms than when describing the Thanet scene—'the image of our Sovereign Lord and King Jesus Christ.' Surely it was the Lord in His crown and glory, rather than as the Sufferer of Calvary. To the Cross, which suggested the Passion, the true supplement was the portraiture of the King of kings, declaring, what it was so necessary to assert before a heathen people, both the triumphant issue of the Cross, and the sovereign authority of the Crucified. We seem to hear the drift of Augustine's addresses; the ascended Saviour demands obedience to the faith among all nations; Ethelbert and Canterbury will refuse at their peril. The early message to Ethelbert from Thanet offered him a 'kingdom that would never end'—appropriate words to send to a king, to be made good, however, only on condition of his submission to the Lord of Glory and the Supreme King.

Through Ethelbert's liberality an abode within the city was assigned to the Mission party, and that was their first monastery. That the locality was Stable-gate, near St. Alphege, is not said by Bede, but was a Canterbury tradition in later centuries. A winning description of the daily life of the new monks has been pictured by Mr. Brewer, who observes:—"Working with their own hands, frugal in their dress and meals, they were independent of other men's charity." . . . The people, "early in the morning, saw this silent and mysterious fraternity in their monastic dresses, with composed looks and thoughtful gesture, proceeding two and two to their labours in the fields, there to dig, and ditch, and plough, as if they had been born for no other purpose."

This picture must be an ideal, for no account of their proceedings earlier or more authentic than that of Bede has come down to us. This writer is quite silent as to any labour, but speaks of their prayers, watchings, fastings, preaching, and we are bound to add 'many miracles'; while, so far from their being independent of charity, Bede describes them as 'receiving only their necessary food from those they taught.' Probably, however, Bede draws somewhat from imagination as well as Brewer, but he follows close upon Augustine's time, besides being himself a son of the monastic system. Indeed, that system required all that Brewer paints, and all that Bede relates—barring the miracles—and we may fairly believe that Augustine's monks did their best to comply with it. At all events the Mission, with Ethelbert's bounty, was self-supporting, for there was no Missionary society at Rome to lean upon—

except, indeed, Gregory himself, who by his patronage and countenance gave their cause a credit which helped to bring in the local material support.

We next inquire as to their earliest place of worship, and here we come to be introduced to Queen Bertha and St. Martin's Church, both of prime interest in this history. It is impossible to doubt that to Bertha's influence with Ethelbert the Mission was much indebted for its favourable reception; nor can we avoid thinking of her name when we read those words of Gregory to Queen Brunichild, in 596. "It hath reached our ears that the nation of the English earnestly wish, by God's mercy, to be converted to the Christian faith." We will, therefore, linger here to speak of her parentage, and the probable date of her coming to Britain.

Bertha's father was the Frank King Charibert; her mother, Queen Ingoberga. Charibert, whose capital was Paris, reigned over Aquitaine, Provence, Touraine, and other minor territories. In his time the Frank royal family had been Christian for about half a century, dating from the baptism of Clovis in 496. Charibert died in 567; Ingoberga in 589, aged about seventy. Bede's language is that Ethelbert received Bertha 'from her parents' (*a parentibus*), an expression which would lead any one to infer that she was married about 566, while her father and mother both lived, and lived together—for Charibert a little before his death forsook his queen for other women. Ethelbert, according to the Saxon Chronicle, became King of Kent in 565, but his age is nowhere stated. If we may suppose him to have been twenty at his accession, and so born in 545, he would be seventy-one at his death in 616. What then is the latest year we can assign for the birth of Bertha? Let us suppose her to have married early, at eighteen, in 566; we thus arrive at 548 for the year of her birth. She could scarcely have been born later than that if she married during the lives of her father and mother. Nor would there be any objection to this date, but for one fact. Her daughter Ethelburga married in 625. Her age is unknown, but as she had four children she could scarcely have been above thirty-five at her marriage, and so would have been born not earlier than 590. In this year her father must have been about forty-five and Bertha not younger than forty-two. Our calculations then as to Bertha are most probably at fault, and we had better give up the idea of her having married Ethelbert in the lifetime of her father. Yet it does not follow that Bede's *a parentibus* is wrong, but only that he uses the words in the looser sense of 'from her family.' Nor is there anything farfetched here. Every reader of mediæval latinity knows that *parens*, like the French *parent* of the present day, means as often as not 'a kinsman' simply, and a translator would be very rash who should render *parens* by 'father' or 'mother' as a matter of course, and without consulting the context. From her family then, let us say, and considerably later than 566, Ethelbert received her. He received her, adds Bede, "upon condition that she should be permitted to practise her religion with Bishop Liudhard, who was sent with her to preserve her faith." If those words are not to be understood as revealing a mother's solicitude, making Bertha's marriage to have been in her lifetime, we are much mistaken, more especially as we know enough of Ingoberga to convince us that she would act in that spirit. The historian Gregory of Tours, who was contemporary with her and knew her well, describes her as a woman of much devoutness. If then Bertha married shortly before her mother's death, all the conditions of our problem would be answered. This computation would bring the year to about 586 or 587. Ethelbert would then be turned forty, and she might have been about twenty-five. Now it was, as we before saw, just about that time, 586 or 587, when Gregory's thoughts were first directed towards a Mission to the Anglo-Saxons, so that we may please ourselves in thinking it by no means improbable that this Frankish princess and her bishop, after their arrival in Kent, lost no time in sending a message to Gregory urging him to think of the Anglo-Saxons. That Bertha was living when the Mission arrived we know. Of Bishop Liudhard we know nothing more than the simple fact recorded by Bede, his accompanying her to Britain as the guardian of her faith. He is not mentioned again by that historian, and we know not whether he was alive or dead when Augustine arrived.

Then as to Bertha's Church. St. Martin's, Canterbury, can never be dissociated from her name. Of its authenticity there can be no question. Bede writes:—"There was on the east side of the city a Church dedicated to the honour of St. Martin, built while the Romans were still in the island, wherein the Queen, who was a Christian, used to pray. In this they began to meet, to sing, to pray, to say mass, to preach, and to baptize." The dedication to St. Martin reminds us of the Church which Bishop Ninian named after that saint at Whithern. As St. Martin died about 401, and the Romans departed about 410, we must place the erection of the Canterbury Church somewhere between those two years, and so about the period of the Whithern and the Dover Churches. The present structure is very ancient; exhibiting, however, not the Roman style but the Anglo-Saxon, yet with Roman materials apparent in its masonry. Although it cannot claim, therefore, to be the identical edifice in which Bertha and Liudhard prayed, it was assuredly its immediate successor, and is now its representative on or close by the same site. Its situation is all that could be desired for a Church possessing such memories, somewhat retired from the city, and on a sufficient ascent to place the Cathedral towers in the view. The dates we have been investigating are not without some interest in connection with St. Martin's. The Anglo-Saxon invaders, who landed in Thanet about 450, did not become masters of the country all at once, but gradually, between that year and 473. Thus the Churches of Kent built by the Roman-British Christians, must have been left to desolation and decay for somewhat above a century when Bertha came from Paris and rescued St. Martin's. The fact of its having survived fit for restoration for so long a period, proves that all British Churches were not wattle and thatch, whatever some of them in poor districts might have been. On Roman ground at all events British Christians could build their holy houses with a durability worthy of the religion they believed in and loved. It is left to our imagination to picture the joy, if not the surprise, with which the Mission party on their way from Thanet came upon this survival of the old Christianity of the land, and how the sight, after the good reception they had experienced from the King, enlivened them and made them forget all the discouraging reports that reached them in the south of France, and all the toils of their journey hither.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MISSION OF AUGUSTINE: EARLY PROCEEDINGS.

We are about to note the first-fruits of the Anglo-Saxon race to Christ; to view, so far as we may at this distance of time, a whole people occupying what is one of our present counties, deserting paganism and flocking into the Christian fold; to watch the foundation of the See of Canterbury, and the commencement of Christian government among the Anglo-Saxon people, though not the beginnings of an Established Church, which must be deferred for the present. As we are thus dealing with origins, and there will be dates to fix, a few words upon the sources of our information seem called for.

The sources, we may say, are such as can inspire the inquirer with some confidence, and mitigate any inclination he may have to tax the details of so ancient a history. For an account then in formal narrative, the earliest is Bede's, composed not later than A.D. 731, a date which carries us back to some 130 years after the events. But for information that is historical in substance rather than in form, we can ascend far higher than Bede, and reach records actually contemporary, the letters of Gregory himself. Some of these are preserved in Bede, but several others are accessible to us in Gregory's printed works; and while we have all that Bede saw, we have the additional advantage of consulting them in the chronological arrangement of modern experts, who have determined the places of the undated ones with considerable apparent success. These two, Bede's history and Gregory's letters, are the main *sources*, and we possess nothing to compete with them. There are, however, later historians, chroniclers of Canterbury, witnesses of the traditions handed down in Augustine's monastery, writers whose periods are ancient to us, but to whom Augustine was similarly ancient; these three monks, namely, Gosceline writing in 1098, William Thorn in 1397, Thomas Elmham in 1414. It is Gosceline who tells the adventures of Augustine at Angers. It is Thorn who lodges the mission in Stablegate before the monastery was founded. It is from Camden, we believe, two centuries after Thorn, that we get Ebbsfleet. Thorn places the landing at Richborough; but that need not be a contradiction, as the whole piece of water bore the name of Richborough Port, Ebbsfleet being a little creek of it. To compile an account of Augustine's Mission pieced indiscriminately from all these sources would be obviously uncritical. Bede and Gregory must be the foundation, all else being resorted to separately, and with proper reserve.

The convert in whom we must feel the chief interest, and the time of whose baptism we are most eager to know, is Ethelbert, the first Christian King of all the Anglo-Saxons. Here Bede utterly disappoints us, giving us only the most general intimation of his conversion. His baptism was an event very early indeed if the date of it given by Thorn, Whit-Sunday, 597, can be relied upon. The feast in that year was June 2nd, some six weeks, no more probably, from the landing of the Mission. The conversions of the other Anglo-Saxon kings are related by Bede with more particulars, and we find those princes usually proceeding with caution and delay, waiting till things were ripe and their chief men ready to join them and give their sanction to a public change, while in some cases where they acted from individual views disaster followed. Thorn's date cannot be said to meet with corroboration, and one more trustworthy although less definite will meet us further on.

The next incident to be noted is Augustine's admission to the episcopate. This again is by Bede vaguely mentioned without a date, and we are once more dependent on Thorn. He gives Nov. 16, 597, and that is the date now currently adopted. We may accept it with some confidence as one not unlikely in itself, besides getting as to the year a sufficient corroboration, which will be seen further on. We might account for the particular day being known to Thorn, by supposing it one of the anniversaries in the Abbey calendar; yet a little misgiving arises from the circumstance that Nov. 16 was in 597 not a Sunday but a Monday, and not a festival. Augustine's promotion to the episcopate leads us to infer that Liudhard was then dead; for had he been living, neither could Augustine, with due respect for him, have sought that rank, for which there was no special and immediate call, nor would Bertha probably have given her sanction. Ethelbert too must have consented, seeing that the new bishop would succeed Liudhard as guardian of the Queen's faith, not to speak of his enhanced influence within the royal city and dominions. We assume, therefore, that the King, although not baptized, was continuing a friend and patron of the Mission. Then there comes to be considered the place of Augustine's consecration. It was Arles in the south of Gaul; Arles, where the three bishops from Britain attended the Council in 314; where also Augustine called on his journey in 596. But why he should have gone to so great a distance might well excite a question. Was there not an episcopate in Britain? In Gaul too, were there not metropolitans in the north and in the centre, much nearer to him than Arles? As to the British episcopate, the answer is a brief one. It was altogether outside the Roman system, presiding over a Church alien in origin, in usages repellent; and for one representing the See of Rome to become a postulant for admission to it, or to consent to be in any relation to it but that of primacy, was not to be thought of. Then as to Arles, the answer is that of all Gallic cities in those days that one was, in relation to the See of Rome, unique. But here we may well linger awhile for a more particular inquiry of how it came about that our Anglo-Saxon episcopacy was derived through a remote French town now never mentioned among us except as a railway-station on the journey to Marseilles.

Arles has had a history of no little fame. Not only was it once the capital of a cluster of provinces, but there has been a 'kingdom of Arles,' and all owing to the commanding position held by the city upon the Rhone, in days when armies were ever on the march between Italy and Spain. Its conspicuous prominence in the time of Constantine was indicated when that emperor assembled the great Church Council there in 314. All of Gaul was then Roman, and its capital was Trèves; but in 413, barbarian invaders, Goths and Burgundians, Arian in faith, began to flood the south, leaving to Rome not much more than that south-east corner familiar to us under the name of Provence. Ecclesiastically as well as civilly the district leant towards Rome. The contracted Church, shunning the strangers and their spurious faith, referred their disputes to the 'See of St. Peter,' respected its decisions, and enjoyed its support. Towards its bishops the pope began as early as 417 to use an authoritative tone. In consequence of the same wave from the north Arles grew in importance, civilly and ecclesiastically; civilly when in 418 the Roman prefect or governor-general removed from Trèves, which had become untenable, and established himself there. Then it was that Arles began its career of metropolitan dignity. Its ecclesiastical rank was correspondingly advanced, popes supporting its primatial honours in return for the encouragement given by its prelates to papal authority. Arles thus became an outpost of the papacy to Gaul, and an early base for the conquest of all the West. By Gregory's time the bishops of Arles had been constituted vicars of the pope for the whole of Gaul; in other words the agents and commissioners of the pope for dealing with the various disputes which bishops in all quarters were unable to settle among themselves, and were glad to submit for decision to 'the See of St. Peter.' This vicariate made Arles the most important See in Gaul. It is not indeed correct to call it the Metropolitan See of all Gaul, or of all South Gaul, for no See had such a position in the Gallic Church of that period; but Arles was certainly the papal capital of Gaul, a kind of advanced Rome, and Augustine's consecration there may well be regarded as his consecration by the pope acting through his representative. Historians justly reckon that Gregory's Mission to Britain had for its consequence and remoter results the papal conquest of all the West, even if some such an idea was not a latent one in its plan. As then Arles marked the first footstep of the papacy westward, the second step forwards was taken by the consecration of Augustine at Arles.

But we are waiting to learn how the Mission prospers among the Kentish people. There are among the voluminous letters of Gregory several addressed to Eulogius the Archbishop of Alexandria. The two men were very intimate. They needed each other's sympathies, for both were in harassing contact with unorthodox flocks. Eulogius well knew of Gregory's efforts and hopes for the Anglians of Britain, and by his prayers, if in no other way, had, as the letters show, assisted in the starting of the Mission. We might have expected therefore to find among Gregory's letters to Eulogius some mention of the enterprise. Nor are we disappointed. One, bearing indeed no date of its own, but finding its place in the general arrangement under June 598, contains some truly welcome observations, definite though probably not a little exaggerated. The Angli, he says, are yielding to the Gospel; the news is that over ten thousand were baptized at Christmas, and Eulogius may let his Alexandrians know how much can be effected in the remotest ends of the earth by the power of prayer; the monk he sent out is now a bishop, and doing wonders. Reading such remarks, we are reminded of those earlier centuries when the Oriental Fathers were both surprised and gladdened by the conquests of the faith in Britain during the Roman occupation. Like Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Chrysostom, their successors Eulogius and Gregory are encouraged in the trials near home by the manifest power which Divine truth is exerting in the same distant island but among pagans of another name. We have two observations on this letter to add before passing on. Gregory makes no allusion to Ethelbert's conversion, a trophy of the Mission which he could hardly have avoided mentioning had it then been within his knowledge. Finally, if this letter is rightly placed, and if November 16 was the day of Augustine's consecration, the year must necessarily have been 597, and so Thorn is corroborated.

The letters and Bede between them bring other incidents of the Mission into view. Thus, a close communication is being kept up with Gregory; early in 598, Laurence the priest and Peter the monk go back to him to report progress and get instructions (B. i. 27). In 601, for which year the letters are numerous, Gregory is sending Augustine large reinforcements under the Abbot Mellitus, and of this second expedition the following are also named: Justus, Paulinus, Rufinianus, while Laurence and Peter are going out from Rome again. These make the six companions of Augustine whose names are known to us from the primary sources, and who all came to occupy conspicuous posts in the Mission. Two others, John and Gratiosus, placed by Elmham among the early abbots of St. Augustine, must be reckoned less authentic. Abbot Mellitus and his party brought with them sacred vessels, vestments, relics, and many 'codices.' They carried letters from Gregory to the Bishops of Toulon, Marseilles, Arles, Gap, Vienne, Lyons, Châlon on the Saône, Metz, Paris, Rouen, and Angers (uncertain), as well as to the Frank kings Theodoric, Theodebert, Clothair, and to Queen Brunichild. The letters to the bishops say that such a multitude of converts have come over to the faith in Britain that Augustine has not men enough to take charge of them.

We should note, likewise, that there stand out more prominently before us in the letters two Gallic names in connection with the Mission, those of Virgilius Bishop of Arles, and Queen Brunichild the grandmother of the two youthful kings of the Franks. The bishop does not call for further remarks; the Queen ought to be kept in view. In piloting his missionaries up through Gaul, Gregory made a great convenience of her. Her capital, Châlon on the Saône most probably, was the second main stage, as Arles was the first; and it is worth remarking that Gregory's principal friend in the south was a prelate, in the north a queen. The letters make it pretty plain that Brunichild was the pivot of Gregory's influence in Central Gaul, where the episcopate had not yet come much under the papal patronage; and if Arles was a fortress of the papacy in old or Roman Gaul, Brunichild represented its advanced post in new or Frankish Gaul. But whatever this queen was in relation to the papacy, her name must interest us of the English Church. She evidently took a warm interest in the Mission. Gregory's acknowledgments to her go a great way; he bids her rejoice in its marvellous success, and consider herself as having under God promoted it in no mean degree. But it considerably damps our feeling towards her memory to know that historians do not give her so good a character as Gregory's expressions seem to warrant.

The single letter to Queen Bertha (computed date, Jan. 1, 601) claims our special notice, and we closely scan it to learn something about Ethelbert. His friendly attitude to the Mission is admitted, and her own favour to it is warmly acknowledged, with a hope that she will prove a second Helena; but the urgency with which she is besought to persevere in influencing the King to follow the faith which she professes, for the salvation of his kingdom and his own soul, looks very much as if Gregory had not yet received the news of his baptism, and that Ethelbert, when Gregory last heard of him, was a friend of Christianity without being a Christian.

From the letter of January 1, 601, to Augustine, we are obliged to admit that we find a false note being struck in the Mission, which cannot but lower our conception of it, and make us suspect that we are among men not of the very highest tone. The burden of this communication is an urgent warning to Augustine not to rely too much upon his miracles, nor suffer himself to be puffed up by them. The head of the Mission is evidently accepting flattery from the monks, moving among the Angli as a being of higher order, with an assumption that is alarming Gregory, who presses his point in the fullest terms. Does Gregory himself believe in the miracles? He casts no slur on them; on the contrary he speaks of them as authentic; yet he minimizes their value, and instead of being all congratulation on such manifest tokens from heaven, hints that the effect upon the worker is unhealthy. When in 598 he was reporting Augustine's success to Eulogius and

Brunichild he mentioned his *miracula* in earnest, but apparently thinking only of miracles of Divine grace, indicative of the converting power of the Gospel. We are almost tempted to think that, among men at least of a higher stamp, there was a conventionality in speaking of the miracles of their own period, and that these, while acknowledged as providentially permitted, were not regarded as miracles in the highest sense. It is plain to us that there was ruling among Gregory's missionaries not a little of that spirit of unreality and, in plain terms, pious fraud, which, with a great deal that is not pious, is too prevalent in our own days, and not confined to one religious system. The existence of it is a difficult and painful problem; but we may conceive it as beginning at some point in conscious and intentional deception for low and unworthy ends, propagated however differently, by hopeless and honest credulity, by unreasoning and culpable acquiescence, by reprehensible encouragement on the part of leaders through an idea that it must be good to expel, at any cost, the demon of pagan and vicious unbelief from debased and untutored minds. Gregory is not guiltless in this matter, and in vain does he caution the wonder-worker while allowing the wonders. We are examining origins, and are therefore bound to take note that the deceptions and miraculous pretensions which discredited the English

Church (but not that only) for so many ages, entered it with its original Mission, with the knowledge and sanction of its first archbishop, and without any adequate counteraction by its Roman father.

At length among the letters dated June 22, 601, we find one addressed to Ethelbert in which we can for the first time recognize him in the character of a Christian king. Gregory's language is a great advance upon that which he employed in January, 601, and indicates later intelligence received from Britain. In the course of a long letter he writes :—"Carefully preserve the grace which you have received from the Divine goodness, and hasten to promote the Christian faith which you have embraced among the people under your subjection; multiply the zeal of your uprightness in their conversion; suppress the worship of idols; overthrow the structures of the temples; edify the manners of your subjects by much cleanness of life, exhorting, terrifying, soothing, correcting, and giving examples of good works, that you may find Him your rewarder in heaven, whose name and knowledge you shall spread abroad upon earth. For He also will render the fame of your honour more glorious to posterity, whose honour you seek and maintain among the nations. For even so Constantine our most pious emperor, recovering the Roman Commonwealth from the perverse worship of idols, subjected the same with himself to our Almighty God and Lord Jesus Christ, and was himself, with the people under his subjection, entirely converted to Him. May Almighty God therefore perfect in you His grace which He has begun!"

It would scarcely be safe then to place Ethelbert's baptism earlier than A.D. 600. We must regard Kent as being then ripe for the public abolition of idolatry; the whole kingdom was embracing Christianity with a rush, and a strong reinforcement of the Mission under Mellitus in 601 was the result.

CHAPTER VII.

AUGUSTINE'S MISSION: ESTABLISHMENT AND EXTENSION.

THE religion which the Mission found and abolished among the Jutish Anglians of Kent is known only from incidental remarks in Gregory's letters and Bede's history. There were temples and there were idols of wood and stone. Of the temples some were well built, capable of becoming Churches. The names of Anglian gods are preserved by most of our existing week days. Of sacred books or a lettered priesthood there are no signs. The institution of sacrifice prevailed, and in sacrifice was embodied (whether appreciated or not) the ideas of guilt, atonement, and propitiation. But it is only the sensuous side of their worship, not the penitential, that is apparent. On stated days the people flocked to temples within the forest shades, and there among sylvan huts reared for the occasion feasted on the oxen which had been slain to their divinities. For their conversion the only means which could at first be employed were those of preaching and litanies, with pictorial aids. After the public adoption of Christianity no pagan, as Bede is careful to note, was forced to become a Christian. None the less, however, if Gregory's admonitions prevailed with the King, did the Anglian find his paganism wrested from him; for his idols were thrown down, his temples, when not turned into Churches, demolished, and his very sylvan festivities converted to Christianity by a change in the day and the rite. Ethelbert was thus to be a Theodosius for Kent as well as a Constantine. Schools are nowhere alluded to.

The constructive part of the process went forward. Such old fabrics as had been Churches in Roman times were restored to Christianity, and new ones were built (B. i. 26). One of the restored, the only one expressly mentioned by Bede, standing within the walls, was re-dedicated in the name of the Saviour. Rebuilt and rebuilt, it has ever since been Christ Church Cathedral, and we may fairly please ourselves in the thought that its recovery to Christ was one fulfilment (whether the one in Augustine's hope or not) of the litany prayer with which the Mission party first approached the walls—"That Thy wrath be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house."

The first new Church and the first monastery arose beyond the walls. The monastery was Augustine's especial work, but the Church attached to it the King's, that it might serve as a burial-place for them both and their successors. The dedication was to the Apostles Peter and Paul, but Bede sometimes names it St. Peter's without the Paul; in after times the name of 'St. Augustine's' prevailed.

We come now to a more doubtful case, not to be found in Bede. According to Thorn and Elmham, fourteenth and fifteenth century writers, there stood at a spot between the Abbey Church and St. Martin's a pagan chapel, which Ethelbert made over to Augustine, and Augustine turned into a Church, with a dedication to St. Pancras. This building, says Elmham, was the first one consecrated by Augustine. Upon this circumstance he dwells and dwells in so laboured a strain, that suspicion is aroused as to whether his archæology is altogether dispassionate. Elmham is defending his abbey from some of his contemporaries, who were envious of its historic fame and jealous of its old precedence. Doubtless he has in his eye the monastic body then attached to the cathedral, the bitter rivals for several generations of St. Augustine's monks. In support of the privileges of his house, he points to the Church of St. Pancras, then standing. But how does that help him? In this way. St. Pancras's, he says, was the first Church ever consecrated by their great Apostle, having in this respect a priority even to Christ Church; and the monastery was built on St. Pancras's land, on Christian land therefore. Consequently the Church and Abbey of St. Augustine, although in erection posterior, was (as represented by Pancras's) in consecration anterior, even to the

Cathedral. Elmham's laboured page, which rests on his own assertions, betrays too much of the partisan, and tempts the sober inquirer to abandon St. Pancras's as the phantom of a controversial archæology. But there is another Canterbury Church of these times to be noted, that of the Four Crowned Martyrs, mentioned by Bede (ii. 7) as standing in the town, and saved from fire about 620. It occurs quite incidentally, and may have seen Augustine's day. Without laying any stress then on St. Pancras's, the authentic instances of St. Martin's and Christ Church, together with the express general language of Gregory and Bede, shows us clearly enough the new missionary Church entering into possession of the surviving fabrics of old British Christianity, and of all which were worth preserving of Anglian paganism.

We next inquire as to the public provision made for the ministry of the Church. Ethelbert upon his conversion, writes Bede (i. 26), "gave his teachers a settled place in Canterbury, with such possessions of different kinds as were necessary for their subsistence." Augustine there (i. 33) "established a residence for himself and his successors," with the King's sanction and apparently with his support. The Church of the monastery was by Ethelbert "enriched with several donations (*diversis donis*)." Such expressions must imply landed endowments, and coming from Bede are perfectly trustworthy; but we need not give full credence to later writers who speak of Ethelbert giving up to the Mission his palace and all the city, withdrawing to another palace which he built at Reculver, on the coast. Other language still more exaggerated might be quoted. It is possible Ethelbert may have granted Augustine some house belonging to him at Canterbury, and made Reculver his summer residence or even his chief abode in his declining years; but it is not quite safe to go beyond Bede.

While upon the subject of Church maintenance, we naturally ask what is said as to tithes. Bede does not mention them; but as tithes were then generally enforced as a duty of conscience among Christians, we may take it for granted that they were not forgotten in Kent during the Mission of Augustine. Further than that we cannot go. Tithe-payments must have been voluntary in their origin; for that Ethelbert's government should have levied them as a tax while the process of conversion was going on is inconceivable. Being voluntary, they must have been gradual, and Bede's expressions, which are very few, are general enough to include them. The most urgent gifts for the new Church were lands for building and cultivation; tithes would come in by degrees, as Christian conviction deepened and spread throughout the little kingdom.

If no direct light is thrown on the subject of tithes, we are more fortunate in another matter. In the 'Laws of Ethelbert' mentioned by Bede (ii. 5) and even surviving textually, though not in a pure form, there is distinctly discernible the legal security of Church property. In the first law, writes Bede (the text itself corresponding, but too archaic to quote), Ethelbert "set down what satisfaction should be given by those who should steal anything belonging to the Church, the bishop, or other clergy, resolving to give protection to those whose doctrine he embraced." It is only this first law which touches the Church. There is not a word enjoining tithes, and nothing therefore to bear out the theory of tithes being a State gift to the Church. Whatever was given was given (as far as there is any evidence to show) voluntarily and individually, whether land or tithe; all that the law did was to protect what had been bestowed.

One or two more remarks may be made on these laws. Bede calls them Roman laws written in the English tongue and still observed in his own time, enacted by Ethelbert with the advice of his wise men, *i. e.* his witan. The precious relic consists of a number of very brief rules, all of which can be comprised in a printed page or two, possessing this historical interest, that they are (to use Sir Francis Palgrave's words) "the earliest specimen of jurisprudence in a barbarous tongue." Nor is that all. Who could have taught these Anglians Roman law but those who had come to visit them from the Latin world? We behold, therefore, the Church enriching this state of Kent while the State protects the

Church. This likewise will be noted, that the Mission has come to a country ruled by a constitutional, not an absolute monarchy. The King acts with the advice of his witan or witenagemote, *i. e.* his parliament; and we need feel little doubt that it was in such a witan, perhaps the very one which enacted that first of Ethelbert's laws, the conversion of the kingdom was decided on. We might seem perhaps to be drawing a conclusion from insufficient premises; but it is a fact that in another of the heptarchal kingdoms, only a little later, we find such a witan expressly summoned for the purpose, its debate is reported, and its resolution to adopt the Christian religion recorded. These circumstances may help to make us cautious of allowing too early a date for Ethelbert's baptism.

Here then, summing up, we have the Christian Church received and sanctioned by the King of Kent and his government in preference to the religious system previously existing, put in possession of the fabrics dedicated to religion in past times, endowed by royal liberality and with the royal permission, protected in its possessions by public law. In a word, we have all the elements of a National Church by law established.

The Mission having been thus consolidated into what may be fairly called an Established Church, we now proceed to watch its extension beyond Canterbury and outside the borders of Kent. Gregory laid his plans wide, contemplating a Church which should embrace the whole land and even absorb the ancient episcopate in possession of the West. Outward conditions appeared favourable; for Ethelbert, with the title of Bretwalda, the only King of Kent who ever enjoyed it, had a kind of primacy over the other states as far as the Humber, a circumstance which in some general way was evidently known to Gregory, whose designs were based upon it. He considered that London and York, the two great cities of south and north, would be the most convenient ecclesiastical centres for the whole country, and proposed that a metropolitan at the head of twelve suffragans should be seated in each, evidently anticipating one united Church co-existing with a septiform civil rule. Sketching out such a plan to Augustine in 601, Gregory at the same time sent him a Pallium, a circumstance to detain us a few moments, for by that gift the papal hand was lastingly laid upon the Church which it was founding.

This ornament of the episcopal robes, familiarly called the pall, was in its latest form a narrow band falling down the chest, with a branch reaching over either shoulder, resembling therefore the letter Y. Might its triune form have had, in those Arian days when it first comes into the historian's view, any intentional significance? The history of the pallium, or at least of the papal granting of it, dates from 513, and is one of no small importance; but it develops slowly at first, and in the time of Augustine is still in its early stage. The coming of the pallium into England marks a turn in its history, which it behoves any one who would understand it to note well. The instances of the grant which it would be necessary to study in order to bring us to that point are not many; two before Gregory's pontificate and nine within it. We shall content ourselves here with the results.

Before A.D. 600, the pallium, when sent to any bishop from Rome, betokened nothing more than the pope's good-will. It conveyed his gratitude for some service, or it might be but a compliment. For example, the bishops of Arles for several years before Gregory had been vicars of the pope for Gaul, *i.e.* his agents and representatives in settling such questions among Gallic bishops as they might choose for their own convenience to refer to papal arbitration, and for those vicarial services the pallium was a decoration. It did not carry with it or create the vicariate, for that office was assigned by letter, in express terms and independently of the ornament, which might, and in fact did, reward services ot other kinds besides. To take another instance, and one deserving of particular mention in any account of Augustine's mission, Gregory sent the pallium to Syagrius, Bishop of Autun, in acknowledgment of the pains he had taken in forwarding the party on to Britain. Autun—and the bearing of this observation will appear presently—was not a Metropolitan

See, nor did this pallium make it one; on the contrary, Syagrius was expressly cautioned not to trespass upon the privileges of his Metropolitan the Bishop of Lyons. But with that proviso, Gregory (with whatever right) granted the Bishop of Autun certain precedence in synods, and being anxious that a synod should be held on a particular subject, authorized him to convene it. These honorary distinctions were conferred in order, as Gregory put it, just to give the pallium in this case some little weight and prevent its looking like a mere decoration. Gregory moreover granted the pallium to no fewer than three out of the eight bishops in Sicily, and they could not possibly have been all metropolitans. In fact, of all the genuine instances (for there is a spurious one) of the grant of the pallium before 600, only one relates to a metropolitan as such, and he is not constituted one by it, or by the pope, but only decorated and acknowledged.

It was the mission of Augustine to Britain which brought the pallium into that permanent connection with the metropolitanship which distinguishes its subsequent history. Augustine's grand success entitled him to expect the pallium, considered simply as a mark of honour and approval, and with what duties could the decoration be more fittingly weighted in a new Church in course of organization than those of a metropolitan? The Metropolitans of London and York, as such, are accordingly to receive the pallium from the Papal See at each succession, but as something more than a decoration, as a seal and certificate of their titles. Here the Roman hand was certainly laid upon the English Church of the future. Nor ought it to be said that from Gregory's point of view there was no justification. The Church which he had seen landing upon the distant coast, and which to his prophetic eye was shaping itself in its ultimate dimensions, was his own creation, and it was natural he should claim on behalf of his See to guide it on its way, just as any Missionary Society of modern days would foster the organization of its nurslings. Then again it is but right to consider how far Gregory in this proceeding must be regarded as aiming at the aggrandisement of his own throne. Properly speaking, the act of stationing a metropolitan and giving him suffragans is the conferring of rule upon others in their own Church, not the asserting of a rule over that Church for oneself. Under later popes, it is true, the theory which linked the pallium and metropolitanship together was so managed that the pallium became necessary to the valid discharge of the metropolitanship, and so every distant Church was placed in the papal hand; but it cannot be proved that Gregory foresaw and designed that, and it can hardly be right to characterize the English pallium of 601 as a gift insidious in intention, aimed at the liberty of English Christianity. Whatever the intention, however, historians must regard Augustine's pallium as marking a new turn in the history of papal authority over metropolitans, and by consequence over Churches.

Augustine's visit to the British episcopate in the Western hills derives a fresh interest in connection with this subject. Bede, who relates the event, gives it no date, but our best authorities place it in 602 or 603, very soon therefore after the arrival of the pallium. Thus the first attempt of Gregory to extend his Missionary operations was to establish a metropolitan authority over the old British Church. There is no mistaking his attitude. Augustine, under Gregory's instructions, had entirely ignored British bishops in the matter of his own consecration. He now visits them from the standpoint of a superior. He had been consecrated by the pope's vicar, virtually by the pope himself; he has a reputation for miracles; he has the pallium, and he ranks as a metropolitan; he has received from Gregory this commission—"As to the bishops in Britain, we commit them all to your care." It is in this light that we ought to observe him keeping his seat on the approach of the British bishops; it is not a personal arrogance so much as an official one; and if they consent to join him in a Mission to the Saxons on his terms, they take him for their primate. Augustine's overture to the British bishops was a total failure, and some centuries elapsed before their successors yielded to his.

The next attempt to extend the Kentish Mission was more reasonable and perfectly successful. On the main Roman road leading from the capital towards London, and where it was cut by the Medway, at a spot which seems to have been seized by the Romans and the Britons alike, as commanding the approach to the city of the Thames, a spot still occupied by a splendid Norman fragment, Ethelbert founded a Church, which, after his old monastic home, Augustine named St. Andrew's. That Church was Rochester Cathedral, and its first bishop was Justus, consecrated in 604 (B. ii. 3). The See of Rochester, the oldest in the English Church after Canterbury, represents the second permanent advance of English Christianity from the coast into the interior, the first great step from Canterbury towards London. The reason why it now presents the anomaly of a second See within one average county, a See where there is hardly room for a diocese, is that Kent was Ethelbert's immediate dominion, within which the infant Mission could best take its first step forwards. Augustine himself was the sole consecrator of Justus. Presumably he did not apply to the British bishops even to obtain the canonical number of assistants; and nothing can more clearly mark the entire absence of communion between the two Churches.

The next advance (speaking geographically, for chronologically the two seem to be concurrent) should be thought of in connection with this exhortation of Gregory to Ethelbert, "Let your glory hasten to infuse into the kings and people that are subject to you the knowledge of one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." That advance was to London itself, for which, in 604, Mellitus was consecrated the first bishop, and where about the same time Ethelbert, doubtless with the co-operation of Augustine, founded the Church of St. Paul. London lay outside Ethelbert's kingdom, being within the territory of the East Saxons; but his influence as Bretwalda was felt there, and, moreover, the East Saxon king was his sister's son. Thus Augustine, before his death, was a primate with two suffragans. As to the see of London, it cannot boast to have been, like Rochester, continuous from its foundation, for in 616, when both the kings died, London returned to its old paganism.

Augustine, whose Mission is a record of great energy and no little success, whether we consider his journeys, his converts, his share in three cathedrals, his monastery, died in the fulness of his work, on May 26, probably in 605. The Church of his abbey was then far from finished, but his remains were ultimately laid there, in what Bede (ii. 3) calls the north porticus, the exact meaning of which word does not seem settled, some rendering it porch, and others transept. We may get some additional hint of its meaning from the fact mentioned by Bede that Augustine's five successors were laid there likewise, and that as the porticus had then become full, succeeding archbishops were interred 'within the Church itself.' Bede also states (ii. 5) that Ethelbert and Bertha were buried in St. Martin's porticus 'within the Church' (*intra ecclesiam*), and Elmham that they were buried in the south part of the Church. Porch, in the sense of a narrow introduction to a door, seems hardly admissible. If transept is accepted, the archbishops were laid in the north transept, the king and queen in the south. If this word transept does not seem quite suitable, it may be borne in mind that porticus gives us 'portico' as well as 'porch,' and might mean cloister, which is a sort of portico or extended porch. Du Cange gives cloister as one of the applications of 'porticus' in Church latinity. Augustine's edifice may have had annexed to it exteriorly a portico, cloister, or arcade on its north side and another on its south, one for the tombs of the prelates, the other for those of royalty. Thus the interments would have been in the Church as distinct from the open cemetery, yet not absolutely 'within the Church itself.'

After six archbishops had been buried in the porticus, four, and no more, were laid within the body of the Church. Cuthbert, the eleventh archbishop, in 758, and his successors were interred in the Cathedral.

There is one more matter calling for notice before we leave the monastery. Bede (ii. 6) states that King Eadbald, Ethelbert's successor, built 'the Church of the holy Mother of God' within it. This second

Church, an ecclesia, within the enclosure, if it was to accommodate the monks, appears to indicate a considerable extension of the monastery in that short time; but it may have been intended for the towns-people or the farm-labourers and their families. It certainly throws the last doubt on a St. Pancras's.

Augustine's Roman and Gregorian successors in the archiepiscopate were Laurentius, Justus, Mellitus, Honorius, after whom came, in 654, the first native archbishop, though bearing the Latin name Deus-dedit. But the first native bishop was Ithamar, a Kentish man, who succeeded at Rochester in 644. That natives should have been qualified for such positions so early after the landing of the Mission shows the solid character of the Anglo-Saxon race and the spirit with which they adopted the new religion. The early Archbishops of Canterbury, including the first native one, and the four Romans, were either not personally equal to Augustine, or their opportunities and circumstances were unfavourable; for the See of Canterbury suffers a comparative eclipse after Augustine until we reach the great name of Theodore in 668. In that interval, indeed, Kent itself was eclipsed, having furnished no Bretwalda after Ethelbert. Theodore, the seventh archbishop, another foreigner it must be added, a Greek, was the second founder of the archiepiscopate, which in his hands attained to a rank and power like that contemplated by Gregory.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KENTISH MISSION TO NORTHUMBRIA.

Northumbria, the country north of the Humber, was a far more extensive district than modern Northumberland, and was subdivided into two provinces, Deira, and Bernicia. Deira, between the Humber and the Tees, corresponded with Yorkshire; while Bernicia, reaching from the Tees to the Frith of Forth, comprehended the counties of Durham, Northumberland, and the Lothians. Northumbria was ruled by one royal house in two branches, seated respectively at York the capital of Deira, and Bamborough the capital of Bernicia. The two royal branches were sometimes in contention for the entire dominion, and it would happen that while one was in possession of it, the other was in exile. The people were of the Anglian race.

Edwin, in whom we are to see the first Christian King of Northumbria, belonged to the Deira branch, and was in banishment when we first gain sight of him, his kinsman Ethelfrid ruling the united provinces. The history of his conversion begins with an anecdote of his exile days preserved by Bede (ii. 12). He had taken refuge with Redwald, the King of East Anglia. No locality is mentioned, nor is there any explicit information as to what the East Anglian capital was at that time; but if we may assume it to have been what we find it to be later, the incident is probably to be placed at Thetford. One night Edwin was seated upon a stone before the palace (*palatium*) in solitary and desponding meditation, every step of his path seeming beset with peril, when suddenly there stood before him in the darkness a stranger in a strange garb, who questioned him, and after many encouraging words asked what return he would make if one by interceding with Redwald (whom Edwin distrusted) should remove all the grounds of his distress. The prince replied that he would make all the return in his power, and ever submit to his benefactor's guidance. The stranger, speaking with some authority, assured him that his life was for the present safe, that he would in time gain the throne of all Northumbria, and surpass his predecessors in the glory of his reign. The interview terminated by the stranger laying his hand upon Edwin's head, saying, 'Remember this sign!' and then disappearing in the darkness. The date of this occurrence must be placed not much earlier than the battle of the Idle, about 615 therefore, and at that time the Church of Kent was of sufficient standing to render it quite possible for the stranger in the unknown garb to have been some member of the Roman Mission in his monk's habit, seeking an opening for usefulness in East Anglia, and understanding the true state of public affairs. Whoever it might have been, his forecast proved true. Ethelfrid fell in battle, and in 616 Edwin succeeded to the throne of his family. All Northumbria came under his dominion; he acquired the dignity of Bretwalda, and ruled as the most powerful sovereign of his day in Britain. At the time of Bede's anecdote, although called *juvenis,* he must have been about thirty, having been born in 585; he had married Quenburg, a daughter of Cearl, King of the Mercians, and was (either then or very soon after) the father of two sons, Osfrid and Eadfrid.

In 625, nine years after his reign had begun, being forty years of age and a widower, Edwin sought in marriage the princess Ethelburga of Kent, sister of the reigning King Eadbald, daughter of Ethelbert and Bertha. Kent was not then the influential state which it had been under its Bretwalda Ethelbert. Edwin not only held that dignity, but was king of an immediate dominion far outweighing Kent in size and importance. Eadbald and Edwin were to one another politically as a pretty prince to a potentate, yet the Christian was not so dazzled by the alliance that he would accept it unconditionally, and bestow his sister where she might not carry her Christianity with her. Frankish Bertha in other days had come to Kent with her bishop; Kentish Ethelburga must not now go to Northumbria without hers. To that proposal Edwin made no objection, and on July 21, 625 (a Sunday), Paulinus, one of the second band of the Gregorian Mission, was consecrated to accompany her. Thus Northumbria, entirely through its own pagan king, obtained two distinguished missionaries, a princess and a bishop, out of Kent. Kent was then a quarter of a century old in Christianity, under its second Christian king, and its fourth Archbishop, Justus. Within that period it had made an attempt to establish a Mission in London, which after an existence of twelve years (604—616) failed, so that when Ethelburga and Paulinus went northwards, Kent was the sole seat of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, and for anything we can discern was likely to remain so. Either the Kentish Church was unenterprising, or there was no promising door open; we may well believe the latter to have been the case, inasmuch as it is possible to indulge the thought already suggested in connection with the nocturnal incident in East Anglia, that some zealous effort was making in that direction while Ethelbert's days were drawing to a close. We can well imagine with what true thankfulness the Churchmen of Kent welcomed this providential opening in the powerful state of the far north, for which it must have seemed impossible to organize a direct and formal mission, and with what hopes and prayers they followed the departure of their princess and her Christian court from the north gate of Canterbury.

Arrived in Northumbria, Paulinus had full permission to preach, and proved a zealous apostle; but he was not speedily rewarded with success, either in the palace or among the people. His efforts with the King were supported by letters addressed both to Edwin and Ethelburga from the reigning pope, Boniface V., written before Oct. 25, 625, on which day he was buried. These letters were as good a reinforcement as another Missionary; for among the new and petty nations of the North-West of that period, when there was no dominant civil potentate in the West, the pope of the city that was once the mistress of the world was thought much of. The two letters, besides exposing the folly of temples, idols, and auguries, put the main points of the Christian religion with great force, and it affords us real pleasure to think that Paulinus's line of preaching, of which otherwise we know nothing, was a reflection of that language. But we must not withhold the remark that while such was the staple of these excellent letters, there was a brief but most culpable expression, 'Your protector St. Peter,' and another still worse about hoping one day to return thanks to God 'and St. Peter' for the King's conversion, Boniface thus casting out one idolatry by another and destroying as he built. Let us hope that Paulinus, since he did not occupy the 'chair of St. Peter,' thought it not at all needful to refer to that great Apostle except as a preacher of salvation by Christ.

It was a tragic event, an attempt to assassinate the King, that brought Paulinus his first convert. It occurred on Easter Day, April 20, 626, but the spot, called by Bede (ii. 9) the royal villa near the river Derwent, is not so certain. The Derwent flows from north to south, passing York eight miles to the east. No royal villa, township, or manor near the river is now remembered, but Camden thought one might be represented by an old castle, whose remains he examined, close to the Derwent where now is Aldby Park, three miles above Stamford-bridge. That same night the agitated Queen gave birth to her first child, a princess; and Edwin, whose religious disposition cannot escape notice, returned his thanks for both events to his gods. The bishop, however, was at hand to draw his mind rather to Christ, and Edwin was so far moved as to give permission for his babe to be baptized. Accordingly, on Whitsunday, June 8, 626, little Eanfled, with eleven members of the royal household, received the holy rite, and these were the first-fruits of Northumbria to Christ.

Edwin, however, while giving that substantial pledge of his interest in Christianity, himself held back; but he promised Paulinus that if he returned in safety from an expedition he intended to take against those who had plotted his destruction, he would forsake his idols and serve Christ. He did return, both safe and victorious, abandoned the idols, and so far kept his word; but as to serving Christ he hesitated. Yet he meditated much and often on the subject, and for hours together would lose himself in thought upon what he had heard of Christianity. He was on a certain day in one such a mood when he was approached by Paulinus, who, solemnly laying his hand upon Edwin's head, asked him if he knew that sign. The King was startled, and fell to the ground. Paulinus raised him up, and tenderly conversed with him upon the providential mercies of his past life (B. ii. 12). Bede's narrative implies that Paulinus had supernatural knowledge of the nocturnal incident in East Anglia; but modern writers like Dr. Hook, taking a soberer view, infer that Paulinus, if he was not himself the mysterious stranger of that occasion, must have learnt the story from the Queen.

Still did Edwin hesitate; and was that unnatural in his circumstances? Must it be necessarily attributed to personal indecision? He was a king, and as a leader of his people and his times he must be wary. The whole narrative shows that he was intending that, if so momentous a step in the national life were taken, the heads of the people should share the responsibility with him. It should be borne in mind that in the north Christianity would be known as a hostile religion, the religion of the British, who pressed close upon the Northumbrians all down their western border; that Anglian Christendom was then confined to the little kingdom and feeble Church in a remote south-east corner, able to furnish but little moral support, while the assassination plot showed what foes were watching Edwin from the pagan world; and if that plot were prompted (as to which we can but conjecture) by jealousy of the Christian cause, hesitation and wary steps are amply accounted for. Edwin therefore resolved, in Bede's language (ii. 13), to do nothing without "conferring with his principal friends and counsellors, to the end that if they also were of his opinion, they might all together be consecrated to Christ in the fountain of life." Paulinus encouraging him, the King took counsel with his wise men.

Now follows the meeting of a witan, and that witan one of special interest both in a civil and ecclesiastical point of view. Civilly, we have here in this Northumbrian assembly the first witan, the very first English parliament, of which any particulars survive. The Kentish witan of about 600, at which Ethelbert's laws were enacted, we are aware of as a fact from Bede, and beyond the bare fact we know nothing; but here we see the actual proceedings. Still further, in Edwin's witan we find the religion of the realm represented, the high priest of paganism is one of the members, and there is a report of his speech; we feel sure that when Christianity succeeds to paganism, the bishop will occupy a similar position in the national council. Then again the sentiments expressed in this witan with regard to paganism are of no ordinary interest. On Edwin desiring to hear what every one thought of the new doctrine, the chief priest Coifi was the first to rise. "The religion which we have hitherto professed," he began, "has, as I have learnt for certain, no virtue in it whatever, no utility. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I, and yet there are many who receive greater favours from you, and are more preferred than I, and are more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if the gods were good for anything, they would rather forward me, who have been more careful to serve them." The speaker accordingly recommends that the new religion should be inquired into. Coifi's amusing frankness must not make us forget what his insinuations imply as to the King, whose favour has manifestly been declining from him, and we can hardly mistake the hint that Paulinus is rising at Coifi's expense. The very circumstance indeed of the assembly having been called indicates that paganism is a falling cause in high Northumbrian quarters. Coifi was followed by a lay noble, whose thoughts breathe a higher strain than the priest's, while the words in which they are clothed are touching in no small degree, and touched Wordsworth, who versified them. To him paganism with all its temples and auguries brings no revelation, no light, no comfort. To the questions, whence is man? whither is he going? it answers nothing; it sheds not a ray of hope on man's existence. He speaks as follows: "The present life of man, O king, seems to me like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door and immediately out at another; while within he is safe from the wintry storm, but after a short space of fair weather he immediately vanishes out of your sight from one winter to another. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed." The assembly assented to this, and then Coifi proposed that Paulinus, who was present, should be heard. The Bishop's discourse touched a deeper chord in Coifi's soul, and the priest replied: "I have long since been sensible that there was nothing in that which we worshipped; because the more diligently we sought after truth in that worship the less I found it. But now I freely confess that such truth evidently appears in this preaching as can confer on us the gifts of life, of salvation, and of eternal happiness. For which reason I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefit from them." He offered himself to strike the blow, and being permitted to use the King's stallion for the purpose, mounted him, girt himself with a sword, and brandished a spear in his hand. He had thus desecrated his own priesthood. Then riding towards the temple of the gods in sight of an astonished multitude, who thought him distracted, he hurled his spear at it, and commanded temple, enclosures and all, to be given to the flames. Bede concludes: "This place where the idols were is still shown, not far from York to the eastward, beyond the river Derwent, and is now called Godmundingaham." This word, meaning 'protecting home of the gods' (Moberly's Bede), takes us to Goodmanham, a village some sixteen miles east of the Derwent, and twenty-four from York, near Market

Weighton, on the western fringe of the Wolds, and in one of the acclivities leading to that elevated wild. The name implies an important religious site, and if Godmundingaham was the sacred metropolis of the province, it was the most suitable spot for an assembly that was to decide the question of the national worship. The narrative of Coifi's exploit seems clearly to indicate that the witan came off in the vicinity of the temple, while the multitude of people watching the catastrophe proves that it was no solitude. It is sought, therefore, to find about here a site of a royal residence, either the one of Eanfled's birth, or some other; and in truth the whole locality is one that might tempt the search. Every mark of age clings to it; a Roman road from York, Roman coins and relics, Roman and British names as well as Teutonic still adhering, as etymologists will have it, to the places about. Londesborough in particular has found favour for a possible royal 'villa.' But in truth the Anglian council of that early date does not necessarily imply a royal or any other residence. A short summer gathering *sub divo*, especially in some woodland shade, answered all purposes, as when Ethelbert gave audience to Augustine in Thanet, and Augustine conferred with the British bishops under an oak, not to mention other instances.

So then, late in the summer of 626 we should surmise, the old order of Northumbrian religion ended beneath the Wolds.

The new order began at York on Easter Day, April 12, 627, the first anniversary of the day Edwin had such reason to remember. Not in a secluded manor-house, but in the midst of all the public in the royal city, with great and open preparation as for an event of state religion, the King of Northumbria approached his baptismal day. A tabernacle of timber was constructed for the ceremony and the font—a lavacrum or laver it probably was. That would occupy the winter, for the building was no rough piece of carpentering intended to come down immediately after. Thither, all through the Lent of 627 no doubt, Edwin and his nobles and throngs of citizens resorted as catechumens for instruction, and there on the Easter morning were baptized the King "with all the nobility of the nation and a large number of the common sort." Let us hope that to Paulinus, full of the thoughts of that great festival, it did not occur to return thanks for his King's conversion to the Apostle Peter, notwithstanding that the baptistery was dedicated in that honoured name. Whereabouts the edifice stood we know exactly, for immediately after Easter a stone Church at Edwin's command began to rise so as to enclose it, and that Church became, what it and its successors have ever been, York Cathedral. At York the King now established the See of Paulinus, who had hitherto been only a bishop at large. The Anglian episcopal history of York begins therefore in 627, thirty years after that of Canterbury.

We now may usefully recur to our former study of the Kentish Church. The history of the conversion of Ethelbert and his kingdom by no means surpasses that of Edwin and Northumbria. As an historical study merely the case of the north greatly exceeds that of the south; for it is assuredly in Northumbria rather than in Kent that we best discern how the revolution from Paganism to Christianity was worked out in an Anglian state. Bede, himself a Northumbrian, had better access to his facts, and is most at home in the Northumbrian branch of his subject, as one may plainly see. In his pages the northern Mission comes before us with circumstantial details instead of general statements, and in the place of vague notes of times, there are precise dates. Then, further, the facts which stand out so clear in Northumbria go a long way to suggest the right way of filling in the blanks of Kent. For the two peoples were of the same Anglian race, living under similar institutions, requiring to be dealt with by similar methods. Edwin's long hesitation and reluctance, the reason of which is evident enough, almost compels us to believe in the later date for Ethelbert's conversion. The vivid view we get of the northern witan, and of the necessity there was for holding it, convinces us that a conversion witan was an equal necessity in the south. Edwin's long friendly neutrality, so clearly observable, renders it most probable that such likewise was Ethelbert's attitude while holding back from the font. From the parallel case of the north, we feel sure that Ethelbert and his court were baptized in a body, and with common consent, the people joining, the priestly order too yielding to the times; that the occasion was made much of, and the cathedral, even if imperfectly restored, was the scene, as well as some great festival, Easter or Whitsunday, the day. Let us add that localities, too, as well as dates, come out better in the north.

CHAPTER IX.

BISHOP PAULINUS IN NORTHUMBRIA.

PAULINUS'S mission in the north, which ended with Edwin's untimely death in 633, must be pronounced a very successful one, when we consider its lamentable brevity and the paucity of the labourers. If the ordained missionaries, however, were few, the newly-baptized King, who gave every indication of having yielded to Christianity from deep conviction, and of desiring its propagation for the true welfare of his people, was a host in himself. A general view of his active support and constant encouragement afforded in this great reformation will best introduce us to the details of the Bishop's labours.

Six years only after his baptism in 627 did Edwin reign. His first care was to complete the Christianization of his capital by erecting a spacious Church for the multitudes who had accompanied him in baptism. As soon as he was baptized, says Bede (ii. 14), and therefore in April, 627, he took measures in consultation with Paulinus "to build a larger and nobler Church of stone, so as to enclose the timber oratory (*oratorium*) in the midst." Larger and nobler it should be; one to grace his ancient and illustrious city with a Christian mark for all time. The York of that period must be conceived of as very limited in extent—a comparatively small oblong lying in the fork between the Ouse and its tributary the Foss, both of which streams now flow within the city. The old Roman boundary is satisfactorily determined, and we may assume that the walls, fragments of which even yet survive, were in Edwin's day standing in their ancient completeness. It is judged by the learned historians of York that the Roman imperial palace stood on or near the site of the present Christ Church, and was not improbably still in existence as the abode of the Anglian kings. The position which his Church occupied within the city is not to be omitted. The Minster stands exactly in the centre of that oblong which marks the old Eboracum, just about where the two main thoroughfares must have intersected. In a capital that thus breathed of Roman associations, that had descended to him from emperors, that still in its walls and gates wore a Roman dignity, Edwin was not likely to conceive any mean structure for the See of Paulinus; and that it was planned on no contemptible scale may be inferred (not conclusively, of course) from the fact that at the end of six years the walls had not yet reached their full height. We shall have no difficulty in imagining it as a structure worthy of its great descendant, the present Minster, if we cease to slight its founder as a mere provincial kinglet. Our Anglo-Saxon heptarchs, if their dominions were circumscribed, were by no means forceless men; nor, when for the notion that they were sons of the divinities Christianity substituted the allowance that they reigned by the grace of God, were they less kingly. Edwin's rule greatly impressed his contemporaries. In Bede's description we see a sovereign possessed of lofty ideas of regal state, who stepped in the consciousness of wielding a sceptre handed on to his race from the mighty ancients whose relics were everywhere before his eyes. "His banners were borne before him, not only in battle, but even in time of peace: as he rode about his cities, villas, or provinces, with his ministers, a standard-bearer was always wont to precede him; also when he walked anywhere along the streets, that sort of banner which the Romans call Tufa, and the Anglians Tuuf, was in like manner carried before him" (ii. 16). In such state we may conceive Edwin and his court on Sundays occupying the streets which led to the rising cathedral, and we prefer to think that the interior temporary edifice wherein that royalty was seen, wherein a bishop ministered, and that with a golden chalice presented by the King, wherein alone the York citizens worshipped for more years than six, was substantial and well built, however much the workmen had been hastened in its first erection.

Turning now to the royal family we may note that Osfrid and Eadfrid, Edwin's two sons by the pagan marriage, were apparently not ripe for baptism with their father in 627, since Bede does not include them on that occasion, but speaks of their having been baptized in more general terms while he is relating the subsequent ministry of Paulinus. His Christian wife, Ethelburga, bore three children after that little Eanfled who was baptized in 626. These were a son Ethelwin, a daughter Etheldrith, and another son Wustfrea, and they were baptized as they were born. Two of them, Ethelwin and Etheldrith, died in infancy before their father, and were buried, Bede says, in the Church at York, making the first recorded interments there. In 633 Osfrid had married and become the father of a son Iffi, who also was baptized; and thus before he died Edwin beheld the whole of his family gathered into the Christian fold.

Next it must be noted that Edwin, like a missionary king, sought to win over one of the neighbouring states, as Ethelbert did earlier. This was East Anglia, which he had so much cause to remember. Earpwald, the son of his old protector Redwald, was then reigning there, and Edwin addressed him with such good effect that he and his whole kingdom 'received the faith and sacraments of Christ.' (B. ii. 15.) The date of this East Anglian conversion proves to be 627, so that Edwin must have made the move very soon after his own baptism. The conversion, however, did not turn out to be immediately permanent, and Edwin lived to see this new member of Anglian Christendom relapse into paganism, though only for a short time.

In his own dominions Edwin fully recognized the importance of winning his people to the new faith while their old idolatry was reeling under the blow it had received at Godmundingaham. In every corner of the land he declared himself the Christian in their presence, never ceasing to countenance and encourage Paulinus in his preaching tours, often inviting him to stay with him (B. ii. 14), and if we may judge from one instance to which we shall be introduced, every royal country seat was a centre of active missionary work.

We now turn more particularly to Paulinus. For six years out of the eight through which his northern mission lasted Paulinus was Bishop of York. What ordained fellow-helpers had he? Only one is mentioned, a deacon named Jacobus or James. Whence he was, when he came, who he was, we are left to conjecture. Let us conjecture then that James the deacon was a son of the Kentish Church, that he was born about A.D. 600 (for he lived an old man into the times of Bede, who was born in 673), and that he accompanied the Bishop to the north in 626. At a humble distance he shares the honour of the northern Mission with Paulinus, and we shall find him by and by in the hour of its calamity its sole representative. At present we picture him in attendance on the

Bishop, and both of them itinerating incessantly over Northumbria, those two by themselves, in striking contrast with Augustine and his processions in Kent. No monastery therefore shall we see founded, as in the southern kingdom, nor can we look for more than an occasional Church while there were no clergy to take charge.

Coming now to particulars, we find Bede stating (ii. 14) that Paulinus "used to baptize (*baptizabat*) in the river Suala, which flows past the village (*vicus*) Cataracta." This river, the Swale, takes us into the north of Yorkshire. Originating in the north-west angle of that county, it first pursues an eastward course through the wild and picturesque valley of Swaledale until it has passed Richmond, a few miles below which it makes a bend to the south. By and by it mingles with the Eure, and the united streams flow on as the Ouse down to York. In our day we might perhaps distinguish the Swale as the river of Richmond, this town being the only one upon its course; but in Bede's day and Edwin's, long before Richmond, it was the river of Cataracta, which place, now called Catterick, requires some attention. Bede calls it a *vicus* or village. In Roman days, when it was called Cataractonium, and in Ptolemy's Greek, Κατάρακτον, it was a great square walled camp enclosing nine acres, a military post of no little strength, by which that wild corner of the Brigantes was overawed. Considerable remains of it survive, the chief antiquarian distinction of the locality, which boasts much besides, lying upon the left bank of the Swale after the stream has taken its southward bend. Three miles above, on the same side, in days when that region again required the curb, but great field-works had given place to habitable castles, the Norman tower of Richmond arose, and in that mighty keep we behold the representative and successor of Cataractonium. Richmond was named from its mount that bordered the Swale, Cataractonium from a feature of the river bed; for explain it how we may, it is hardly possible not to connect this word with cataracts; and if none exist at Catterick itself, and none nearer than Richmond, we must fall back on Gale's suggestion, that the Romans called their stronghold after the nearest physical peculiarities which they observed in the district. They may possibly indeed have utilized the cataracts and steep at Richmond in the system of defence for the main place. We are tempted to linger by these Swale waters, for the deep interest they must possess for northern Englishmen as they behold them in summer warmth, and are not unmindful of ancient lore. The Swale witnessed and sealed the first entrance of Anglian rural Yorkshire into the Christian faith. Why a river should have been resorted to for the sacred rite is explained by Bede: "for as yet in the early infancy of the Church oratories or baptisteries (*oratoria vel baptisteria*) could not be built." The reason given is suggestive. The alternative of a Church is a river. Under the circumstances, a private house and an extemporized font could not be thought of. If there was nothing else to be said for that, there was this, that for a great solemnity some permanent witness and memorial was advisable, to which each convert could afterwards point for the beginning of his religious history; and so, as there could be no Church, the river, God's handiwork, was the Church. Ourselves too, the inheritors and contemplaters of that day, if we would behold some memorial of it, see one there unperished. The river still flows on and bears its old name. There, too, is Cataracta virtually unchanged, even in name. Paulinus's troops of catechumens, in the great summer festivals especially, can well be imagined. We need not place the scene invariably at Cataracta; for there being no baptistery there, no necessity existed for bringing the people always to one spot. Nor in fact do Bede's words require it. Up and down the river all through Richmondshire, as the country of the upper Swale is called, the people would flock to appointed stations. But summer must be supposed the only season for river baptisms. In the sunny months the Bishop, after spending his winter (let us suppose) in York, would devote himself to the visitation of his enormous diocese.

From that mountain stream of North Yorkshire, let us now drop down into the southern end of the county in search of another of Paulinus's localities. In the briefest possible text Bede (ii. 14) writes, "In Campodonum, where was then a royal villa, he built a Church (basilica)." This is the first Church we hear of next to that of York, and curiosity is raised as to the whereabouts of the Campodonum thus baldly introduced without a clue. The word closely corresponds with Cambodunum, the name of a town in the Roman Itinerary of Britain, and the question arises whether the deviation in the words is so material as to necessitate our understanding two different places. They who think that it is not are supported by the fact that Bede's Roman names do not always correspond to the letter with those of the Itinerary, even when the identity is indisputable, as in Cataracta, for instance, showing that the old Latin names were in a transition state; and by this further fact, that corruption of proper names often takes the line of substituting a form that bears a meaning for one that appears to have none, as Campo for Cambo. Those who insist upon a vital difference make Campodonum 'plain of the Don,' a plausible rendering as it must be admitted, the town being accordingly Doncaster. Those who believe that the two places are one, have to find where Cambodunum is, and the Itinerary in the hands of an accomplished investigator like John Whitaker has discovered it beyond all rational doubt. It is quite a treat to follow him in his history of Manchester (1771), picking his way along every trace of Roman road from Manchester towards Huddersfield, until he reaches the spot where according to the miles in the Itinerary Cambodunum ought to be; and there in a few watered fields of some twelve acres just off the ancient road finding himself upon extensive foundations and all the *débris* of a Roman town. No one now doubts that those are the relics of Cambodunum, and the Ordnance map so names the spot. Locally it is known as Slack, three miles and a half west from Huddersfield, within the township of Longwood, one of the members of the parish of Huddersfield, which great town may be reckoned as the successor and modern representative of Roman Cambodunum. But many who have no doubt of Slack being Cambodunum are equally sure of Bede's Campodonum being Doncaster. Whether at Slack then or Doncaster, there was a villa regia, and there stood the second known basilica of Edwin and Paulinus in Yorkshire. A new Church would seem to imply that another missionary from Kent had come to Paulinus's aid.

Bede acquaints us with no other localities of Paulinus's mission in Deira, and we naturally regret not to find any further notice of Godmundingaham, which the historian never mentions a second time. But it is not surprising. Churches rose but slowly when clergy were scarce, and the Mission had to be worked on the system of itinerating from one baptizing river or preaching station to another. How soon the Church came in the room of the old demolished temple of Godmundingaham does not appear. Of the existing fabric the oldest parts, which are the tower and doorway, date from the Norman period.

In search of the next Paulinian locality mentioned by Bede we pass out of Deira and travel some distance northward in Bernicia, to the Glen in Northumberland. This slender stream, although commonly delineated in the larger maps, is very seldom named, and a few words are needed to place a reader not familiar with the county on its banks. Descending from the Cheviot Hills, two torrents, Bowmont Water and College Burn, unite close to the village of Kirk Newton, and so form the Glen, which then runs eastward through Glendale to the Till. The Till is the main river of North Northumberland, flowing through the centre of it in a northerly course down to the Tweed, and receiving the Glen, its only tributary to speak of, north of Wooler, which is the inland town of the whole district. A straight road of four or five miles from Kirk Newton to Wooler, having the Glen on the left, and steep hills on the right, passes by a spot, less than a mile from the village, marked in the Ordnance map by a house or two and the name Old Yeaverin, and then a mile further on through the hamlet of Yeaverin, both within the parish of Kirk Newton. One of the two Yeaverins, Old Yeaverin we should presume, is the exact spot we are in search of, called by Bede Adgefrin, and furnishing a remarkable instance of longevity in rural names. The stay-at-home traveller can visit Glendale, as all this corner is called, on the Ordnance map, and with some such book as Hutchinson's 'Northumberland' in his hands, not omitting his own recollections of hill-scenery in his mind, may imagine that he sees it all. Let us suppose him at Old Yeaverin and facing north. On his left rise the Cheviots, hard by. In front he looks down a gentle slope to the Glen, across which, and more especially on his right, he sees an amount of level ground unexpected in such a region. Behind him, that is, south of the Yeaverins, are higher ascents, upon which are scattered several ancient camps, but the most striking object is Yeaverin Bell. This hill, at the foot of which Yeaverin lies, and to which no doubt the hamlet owes the longevity of its name, rises to a height of some two thousand feet, and terminates above in a conspicuous cone, the summit of which is a level, having all around its edge, on the brink of the steep, the remains of a strong wall, built of the large flat stones with which the country abounds, fitted together without mortar. 'Druidical remains' the Ordnance surveyors have named these relics. In this striking recess of Northumberland was one of Edwin's royal residences, and this, although secluded, was not quite so much out of the world as it might seem if we were thinking only of its distance from York; for we are now in Bernicia, and not more than some thirty miles off, due east, upon the coast, stands the Bernician capital, Bamborough. There is a direct road from Bamborough to Kirk Newton, through Wooler, and even if the road does not represent one so old as Edwin's day, it shows that the ground between the royal city and Yeaverin was traversable. A missionary centre, at all events, and one of no little interest, Yeaverin was then, and Bede's description of Paulinus's ministry here is fuller than at any other spot. "So great," he writes (ii. 14), "was then the fervour of the faith, as is reported, and the desire of the washing of salvation among the nation of the Northumbrians, that Paulinus, at a certain time coming with the King and Queen to the royal country seat (*villam regiam*) which is called Adgefrin, stayed there with them thirty-six days, fully occupied in catechizing and baptizing; during which days, from morning till night, he did nothing else but instruct the people resorting from all the villages (*viculis*) and places in Christ's saving word; and when instructed, he washed them with the water of remission (*lavacro remissionis*), in the river Glen, which is close by." Here surely is abundant proof of Edwin and Ethelburga warmly co-operating with the apostolic Bishop, showing themselves as sovereigns a nursing father and mother to the nascent Church, and as residents on their various estates employing all their influence in drawing the people to Christ. Here, too, are the commons, like the thane in the conversion witan, showing how weary they are of darkness, how eager for the Gospel light.

The royal villa at Adgefrin is no more; it was gone before Bede wrote, for he tells us that one of Edwin's successors removed from that residence to one elsewhere. Yet there has been a succession, and there is a survival. From Edwin's royal abode there has descended, to be the mother in Christianity of that sub-Cheviot glen, the parish church of St. Gregory at Kirk Newton. The very name of Gregory, the surviving name of Yeaverin,* the baptismal stream with its name absolutely unchanged, Yeaverin Bell, and the same Druidic crown above it watching over the scene, all are eloquent; all of them testify to the wakeful interest of the prince, the zeal of the pastor, the willingness of the people in that ancient day.

The Paulinian localities in Bede (and with others of later tradition we are not concerning ourselves) are not exhausted, although we have finished with those in Deira and Bernicia.

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* The 'Ad' in Adgefrin is a mere prepositional prefix; and in old English Y and G are often interchanged, *e. g.* "Yeaven under our signet," in a royal letter of Henry VIII.'s reign — 'Wilkins,' iii. 870.

CHAPTER X.

PAULINUS'S MISSION IN SOUTHUMBRIA.

As we are now to concern ourselves with the county of Lincoln and the regions of the Trent, a few geographical observations are advisable.

Much of the most important part of the Trent, let us say from about Newark and onwards past Gainsborough, flows in a course due north down to the Humber, and corresponds more or less (on a small map) with the north-western boundary of Lincolnshire. Thus all the northern half of this county (and that half contains Lincoln) may be described generally as lying between the Trent and the sea. Where the Trent disembogues, namely at the north-west angle of Lincolnshire, the Ouse ends and the Humber begins; so that all the north end of Lincolnshire is washed by the Humber. Southumbria was therefore the name occasionally given to that region in authors later than Bede.

Coming now more particularly to Bede, we find the following statement (ii. 16):—"Paulinus also preached the Word in the province of Lindsey, which is the first on the south side of the river Humber, stretching out as far as the sea." The province of Lindsey, if it did not include the whole of Lincolnshire, meant at least what we have described as lying between the Trent and the sea. Bede would call Lincoln in Lindsey. The name of Lindsey has not disappeared from the map, but still marks a shrunken district in the north of Lincolnshire.

The question arises, how it happens that the Bishop of York is pursuing his mission here beyond the limits of Northumbria. Normally Lincolnshire was, in the heptarchal arrangement, a portion of Mercia, as our maps of the heptarchy invariably represent it, and at this time Mercia was a pagan power. Was Paulinus then making a Christian aggression upon the neighbouring kingdom? Or was Lindsey included, whether disputably or indisputably, with Edwin's dominions? Bede says nothing to decide this question, or even to raise it, but brings Paulinus into Lindsey as a matter of course. Under some later kings however, and in Bede's history too, the territory was at one time Mercian, at another Northumbrian, and we should infer that it was debatable ground. Edwin and Paulinus are now plainly treating it as Northumbrian; but the fact of its being occasionally open to dispute it is advisable we should bear in mind.

The spot in Lindsey where we first find the Bishop's footsteps is Lincoln. Bede's text (ii. 16) is as follows, after telling us that Paulinus preached the word in the province of Lindsey:—"And he first converted to the Lord the governor (*præfectum*) of the city of Lincoln, whose name was Blaecca, with his whole house; and in this city he also built a church of stone (*ecclesiam de lapide*) of beautiful workmanship (*egregii operis*)." A church, and such a church, when churches so rarely occur in Paulinus's mission, immediately arrests attention. This is but the third church mentioned in all. There was the 'larger and nobler' stone church at York; there was 'a church' (and this may have been wooden) at Campodonum, and now a handsome stone church at Lincoln. Where and what the church at York was, is demonstrable. Can we say so much for the Lincoln church? The question does not lead us into absolute darkness.

Lincoln under the Romans was a strong walled town named Lindum, holding that special rank in the Roman system called colonial, a word represented in the second syllable of Lincoln. Civitas Lindicolonia is its name in Bede. It occupied that hill-summit which is now the central part of the city, and a very small fraction of its whole extent. There are considerable remains of the Roman walls and a perfect Roman gate-way still in use, through which one of the principal roads must have passed. We can therefore picture the outward aspect of Lincoln in the days we are treating of quite as well as we could that of York. Eboracum was a walled oblong between two streams; Lindum was a walled square upon a lofty platform. The square was divided into four quarters by two roads crossing in the middle, and in the present map of the Lincoln parishes that square and those four quarters are distinctly discernible. The south-western quarter is occupied by the castle and its precincts; the south-eastern quarter and most of the north-eastern by the Cathedral and its dependencies; the rest of the north-east and all the north-west are occupied by the parish of St. Paul's, which is the only existing parish within the limits of Roman Lindum, the remainder of this ancient spot being now extra parochial. The north and west walls, which bounded Lindum, now bound St. Paul's parish. A parish so situated might well be presumed the oldest in Lincoln. What is the situation of its church? It stands near the centre of the square, *i. e.* close by where the two original main roads crossed; and that was the very position occupied by the church of Edwin in Eboracum. The conclusion is inevitable, that the present St. Paul's church is the descendant and representative of the church built by Paulinus, and stands on the oldest Christian site known in Lincoln. The Cathedral was not founded until the Conquest, and was built nearer to the steep descent, that it might be seen from afar. Paulinus's humbler structure was just where the mother church of Lindum should be, in the most public and central spot that there was. It is thought at Lincoln that St. Paul's was once called St. Paulinus, and that it acquired its present name by a corrupting process. But Paulinus could not have dedicated it in his own name, though he could in one which was akin to it. The name of St. Paul, like that of St. Peter, we find given to great churches in England. The Cathedral of London, cir. 604, was St. Paul's. Those two eminent apostles had the same festival in the calendar between them, and their names became closely associated in dedications. Paulinus's own monastery at Canterbury was dedicated to them jointly. In the next generation the twin monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow were St. Peter's and St. Paul's. It was quite a natural thing that St. Peter's at York should be followed by St. Paul's at Lincoln.

More, however, can be said of this church. The very year of its foundation is calculable, and in the following way. It was, says Bede, in the church at Lincoln that Honorius was consecrated by Paulinus to the See of Canterbury in succession to Justus. Now Bede does not give the date of that event either, but we can approach it in other ways. The *Saxon Chronicle* records that Justus died in 627, and

Bede, who omits the year, notes the day, namely Nov. 10. Honorius could therefore have been consecrated in November or December, and 627 is a current one in later writers for the succession of Honorius, though for no other reason apparently than that Justus died that year. Elected then he might have been, but the true date of his consecration has to be calculated, and the calculation must fit in with various other chronological facts. The very careful computation of Haddan and Stubbs determines for 628 at the earliest, and that year was in all probability the very one. This conclusion conducts us to another. A stone church is not likely to have been built in less than a twelvemonth, and the foundation therefore must be assigned to 627; whence it follows, that one of the first movements of Paulinus after the royal baptism at York at Easter, 627, and the commencement of St. Peter's stone Cathedral there, was in the direction of Lincoln. Lincoln, Lindum colonia, was certainly the second town in Edwin's dominions after York. Its strong position, its still surviving walls and gate, its 'prefect,' all show that. It was a citadel town, and the fortress capital of an outlying Southumbrian province exposed to pagan Mercia. We at once, therefore, understand Paulinus's movement. Lincoln had to be made the second stronghold of Christianity.

At Lincoln in 627, after all that had just happened in York, when the nobility as well as the sovereign and people had bowed to Christ, the conversion of Blaecca the governor was a foregone conclusion. No other Lincoln conversions does Bede mention, but the foundation of a stone church implies a body of converts. Thus then we are authorized to conceive the minster at York and St. Paul's at Lincoln as rising together in the summer of 627.

Let us suppose it finished and consecrated by the summer of 628. What a lonely beacon it was! Whether the Campodonum church, wood or stone, was by that time built there is nothing to show; but anyhow the Lincoln church was in 628 the nearest one to Kent. Kent was as yet the land of churches, with its two cathedrals at Canterbury and Rochester, with its four churches in Canterbury, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Mary, St. Martin, and the Four Crowned Martyrs, with its church too at Dover. By the church which had risen upon the hill of Lincoln the Northumbrian mission from Kent was now stretching back to its parent. There also in 628 the parent and the daughter met, when the priest Honorius travelled up the Roman road to Lincoln for his consecration. It was an occasion of no little interest in the English Episcopate; for the See of Rochester as well as that of Canterbury was vacant, and Paulinus was the only bishop left of the Augustinian succession. By a simple bishop (for Paulinus could in no sense be deemed Archbishop of York), and (in the unhappy schism with the British Episcopate) a single one, Honorius was ordained the fifth Archbishop of Canterbury. It is not to be forgotten that for the performance of this archiepiscopal act Paulinus had not then received the pallium.

This consecration at Lincoln and the new church there are facts conclusive as to the direct subordination of Lincolnshire to the sceptre of Edwin; and before we proceed to some other Christian events in that outlying and somewhat isolated province, we are led to inquire what its communications with York were, and how it could be safely reached without the permission of a pagan neighbour. There were two Roman roads from York to Lincoln. One of them, passing through Doncaster and entering Lincolnshire across the Trent at or near Littleborough, would have to be shunned, since it traversed a corner of the kingdom of Mercia. But the other route kept entirely within the Northumbrian dominion, crossing the Yorkshire Derwent, running past Godmundingaham, reaching Lincolnshire by a ferry over the Humber, and running down to Lincoln by that remarkable straight road which to this day is a notable feature of the map of Lincolnshire. Certainly that is the road we should select as the one which felt the feet and the staff of Bishop Paulinus. It runs by Riseholm, the habitation of the modern Bishops of Lincoln.

We are now then in a position to view another Southumbrian locality of Paulinus. Bede (ii. 16) mentions him as baptizing on one occasion in the Trent near (*juxta*) "a city which is called in the English tongue Tiovulfingacestir"—the city of the Tiovulf family or tribe. Two spots have been proposed as the modern representative of this place, Torksey and Southwell. The former name is thought to have some affinity with the original (*vid.* Moberly's Bede, *in loc.*). It is a place of some antiquity, where the Foss Dyke joins the Trent, north-west from Lincoln. Southwell, called after its well, and mentioned first in Doomsday, was suggested by Camden, and is accepted with much confidence by Rastall, the historian of Southwell, but with less confidence by others. It does not stand upon the Trent, but upon the Greet, a trout-stream running into it, and whether such a spot sufficiently answers to Bede's 'juxta' may be doubtful. Perhaps the circumstance that a Roman road from Lincoln runs near the Trent not far from Southwell, may be in its favour. Whether at one of these places then, or at neither, the Bishop on Edwin's side of the Trent could meet Penda's Mercians flocking to his instructions from the other, and that bordering stream may have been selected by so zealous a Missionary for that very reason. There is this further matter of interest in the Trent baptism, that it has handed down to us an authentic portraiture of Paulinus's striking person. It comes from one of the converts of the good Bishop, from whom a certain Deda had it, and told it to Bede. Paulinus was tall of stature, and a little stooping; he had black hair, meagre visage, a nose slender and aquiline; his whole aspect was venerable and majestic. Deda, when Bede knew him, was Abbot of Partenay, in the heart of Lincolnshire, and gave Bede much information obtained from the same disciple respecting the beginnings of Christianity in Lindsey. The baptism of the original relator was at noon, a great concourse of people attended, and the King himself was present. If, therefore, we are somewhat at a loss as to the exact point of the Trent where we now view Paulinus, it is yet at this Trent baptism that in all other respects we have the most complete picture, such a one as we get neither at the Swale nor at the Glen. Here is the 'multitude' expressly mentioned, and here is the Bishop sketched to a nicety, matching the description we have had of Edwin's royal state. Finally, here likewise is the King upon the scene, and we need not leave out of the picture his standard-bearer, and his 'Tuuf,' or feather-tufted standard.

A further significance attaches to Edwin's presence in these parts. In the first place it decides the fact which Paulinus's Lincolnshire ministry by itself sufficiently attests, that this province was then under his rule. In the next place Edwin here seems brought before us in an effort to extend Christianity in the Heptarchy, an effort made at the very beginning of his reign as a Christian. No date is given of his presence at the Trent baptisms; but there seems the strongest reason for thinking it must have been in the summer of 627. For Paulinus was then in Lincoln founding his new church, and winning Blaecca to the Christian cause. How natural that he should, amid the eclat of this event, have traversed the province and visited the populations of the Trent! How natural that the King himself should have been with him all the time, inaugurating the great reformation in Lincolnshire, as he had been doing in Yorkshire! For that this outlying province should become religiously allied to him, as it was politically, would have been one of the first promptings of a wise statesmanship. Nor does the case rest upon conjecture even thus supported. For there is the further fact that Edwin won over the East Anglian King and his nation, and this was in 627. The conclusion is irresistible, that he not only came into Lincolnshire to inaugurate the Reformation there in the very summer of his own baptism, but that he pushed on southward down that Roman road which runs through the whole length of Lincolnshire, and entered into communication with the East Anglian King, whose dominions touched the southern extremity of that county. In short, we not only know through Bede's general statement that Edwin won the East Anglians and their King to Christianity, but we seem here to see him going in person to do it, probably accompanied by Paulinus, and in the very summer of his own conversion. Of the permanent conversion of East Anglia we shall treat more particularly at another time; here we mention, without anticipating too much, that after 630 it was in a public sense a Christian state. We arrive then at this interesting fact, that for the last three years of his life (630-3) Edwin saw Christianity prevailing in the entire east of England, from the Glen, if not further north (as to which we have no information), down to the borders of Essex; and but for the unhappy relapse of the East Saxons into heathenism in 616, the name of Christ would have been respected in a still further continuous line, right round to Dover, and King Eadbald of Kent might have visited his sister at York without setting his foot in heathendom, such missionaries had she and her chaplain bishop proved.

It was a gratifying outlook then for the northern royal family and the Bishop of York in and after 630. But a dark cloud gathered over it, and upon this we now enter after a word of recapitulation. We have been with Paulinus from the Cheviots down to Lincoln. We have surveyed (as we might call them) the three conversion rivers of the Anglians —the Glen, the Swale, the Trent; while a fourth, the Yorkshire Derwent, almost comes into that category through the royal villa upon it at which Eanfled, the first fruits of Northumbria to Christ, was baptized. We have seen three churches erected on Roman·ground, two at least within strong Roman walls and gateways—York, Cambodunum or Campodonum (without settling the dispute between those names), and Lincoln. We have seen three royal villas beyond the capital, the one on the Derwent, Yeaverin, and at the ambiguous Campodonum, connected with Paulinus's mission. Comparing the two provinces of the Northumbrian kingdom, Deira and Bernicia, we find the churches to have been in Deira. In Bernicia at the north, though the living Church was not neglected, it had no material consecrated habitation that Bede could learn, his statement being (iii. 2) that in Bernicia there was not any church, nor even so much as a cross erected.

The catastrophe now awaits us. In 633 Caedwalla the king of the Britons, dwelling on the western border of Northumbria, and Penda the king of Mercia, on the southern, made war on Edwin. The southern foes were of Edwin's own race, Anglian, but pagans; the western ones were of Edwin's own religion, Christians, though Britons. The cause of war is not stated in Bede. Caedwalla, who was in subjection to Northumbria, seems to have fought for independence. Penda may have had a double incentive, Edwin's dominion, south of the Humber, and the appearance of Christianity there in such strength, attracting probably his own Mercians to the Trent. The Britons scrupled not to league with a pagan, and the unnatural confederacy triumphed. Edwin was slain, Oct. 12, 633, at the age of 47. His eldest son, Osfrid, fell in the war, and his other grown-up son, Eanfrid, came into Penda's hands. Edwin was succeeded by two cousins, Osric and Eanfrid, one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. These princes had in exile become Christians, but on coming back apostatized and did their utmost to complete the wreck of Christianity. After a year they likewise were slain by Caedwalla; and Oswald, who succeeded them, re-established Christianity. Oswald's Christian reign is a separate chapter, and our concluding remarks must be confined to the overthrow, and to the noting of what was lost and what preserved.

The widowed queen Ethelburga, accompanied by Paulinus, returned home by sea to Kent, and three children with her, Osfrid's infant Iffi, her boy Wustfrea, and her little daughter Eanfled, who was one day to return, like her mother, a queen consort to Northumbria. A large gold cross and a gold chalice, dedicated to the use of the altar at York, were saved and accompanied the fugitives, who placed them in the church of Canterbury.

As for Paulinus, he never returned to the north, but succeeded on the next vacancy to the See of Rochester. Pope Honorius on June 11, 634, when he had not heard of the disaster in Northumbria, sent him and Honorius archbishop of Canterbury each a pallium, empowering the survivor of them to ordain a successor to the other, in order that it might not become necessary for them to take the long journey to Rome (Bed. ii. 18). The Pope is here therefore assuming entire direction of the English Missionary Churches in their metropolitan development, and is making the pallium the symbol and expression of his assumption. Nor is this to be wondered at. No other supreme authority in England had yet arisen. The kings were seven, and in most cases pagan; while the Church as it spread into their various states was essentially one. It is, however, noticed that Paulinus had already ordained a new Archbishop of Canterbury, not deeming that he had to await papal permission, or the papal pallium. That gift, however, which reached him at Rochester, he valued, and at his death bequeathed to his Cathedral (Bed. ii. 20).

To return to the wreck of Northumbria. As there were no monasteries, and but few churches, there was not much to destroy. The town and church of Campodonum were burnt, but the stone altar escaped destruction, and while Bede wrote was still preserved in a Yorkshire monastery (ii. 14). The rising York minster does not appear to have suffered, the Roman fortifications of the city having surely been proof against any of Caedwalla's or Penda's artillery. The walls had not yet attained their proper height, but as far as they had reached they were safe, and the fabric was afterwards completed by Oswald (Bed. ii. 14). Edwin's head, rescued on the battle-field, was brought for interment to York (ii. 14) and buried in St. Gregory's Porticus of the unfinished minster (ii. 20). Nor is it clear that the beautiful stone church at Lincoln suffered, and the city walls ought certainly to have protected it. From some cause, however, it had in Bede's time become ruinous, the walls alone then standing, the roof "having either fallen through age or been thrown down by enemies" (ii. 16).

The living Church of Northumbria did not perish, and the man to keep that alive was James the Deacon, the most interesting description of whom Bede reserves for this juncture. Paulinus, on his retirement, left him at York (ii. 20), in which city he long continued, and "by teaching and baptizing rescued much prey from the old enemy of mankind." Near Catterick was a village in which he mostly resided, and which in Bede's day bore his name, but it cannot be now identified. "He was extraordinarily skilful in singing," and lived to exercise his gifts in the reign of Oswald, when he again has a place as a missionary.

CHAPTER XI.

EAST ANGLIA CONVERTED AND NORTHUMBRIA RE-CONVERTED.

We have seen the Northumbrian Church wrecked by the death of Edwin in 633. It was reconstituted in 634-5, but within this interval occurred the conversion of East Anglia, and it will be better to follow this before examining the re-conversion of Northumbria.

East Anglia was a region corresponding in the main to Norfolk and Suffolk, but it comprised also a part of Cambridgeshire. Most of the Fen district lay within this kingdom. The royal town is not mentioned by Bede, but at a later date we find that it was Thetford. Thetford is in Norfolk close to where that county touches Suffolk; it is 30 miles S.W. of Norwich, and about the central spot of East Anglia. Thetford was Roman ground of some importance, and we may safely regard it as having been adopted for the metropolis of the East Anglians from the first settlement of that people in Britain. We accordingly assume that it was the scene of

Edwin's night adventure adverted to in a previous chapter as occurring in or about 615.

The conversion of East Anglia offers some distinct points of interest. The king first concerned in it was Redwald, the same who harboured Edwin in his exile (Bed. ii. 12). In 616, the year Edwin became King of Northumbria, Redwald became Bretwalda (ii. 5), having succeeded in that dignity Ethelbert of Kent, who died in 616. Bede relates (ii. 15) that Redwald while on a visit to Kent received Christian baptism. The occurrence is not dated. Apparently it was after Edwin's visit in his exile to Redwald. But we notice that the baptism was in Kent. Redwald then was on intimate terms with the Church people of Kent, a circumstance which lends probability to the conjecture that it was Paulinus or one of the Kentish monks who, in the incident already alluded to, accosted Edwin in the palace grounds.

It is further to be noticed that as Redwald was baptized, not in his own dominions but in Kent, he became a Christian only of his private choice, and not as a king at the head of his nation. He consequently did not carry his people with him, nor is there any indication that he tried to do so. But he did not even stand his own ground. On his return home from Kent Bede says he was persuaded by his wife and "certain perverse teachers" to return to Paganism. Yet while returning to Paganism he did not abandon Christianity, but professed both, "like the ancient Samaritans," says Bede; and in the same temple he worshipped both Christ and the pagan divinities. East Anglia, then, was not converted under this king.

His son and successor was Earpwald, between whom and Edwin of Northumbria existed a bond of friendship. At Edwin's persuasion Earpwald abandoned idolatry and—as Bede says (ii. 15), but without any further particulars—received, and all his subjects with him, the faith and sacraments of Christ. Here then was a national conversion, and it is worth noticing that it was brought about through the instrumentality of a friendship, without being influenced by a marriage alliance, as was the case with Kent and Northumbria. Bede gives no date, but we may safely put it in the summer of 627, not long after Edwin's own baptism. Earpwald did not live to consolidate his work. Soon after his conversion he was slain by one of his pagan people, and East Anglia relapsed into idolatry for three years.

The second and final reception of Christianity by East Anglia was under King Sigebert, Earpwald's brother. This prince had during Earpwald's reign been obliged to retire into Gaul, and while an exile there was converted to Christianity. Bede (ii. 15) describes him as "most Christian and most learned." Coming back to East Anglia in 630, he became the means of restoring Christianity to his kingdom. His coadjutor in this work was Bishop Felix, recommended to him by Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury. Felix was not one of Augustine's companions, and very little is known of him beyond the fact that he was a native of the kingdom of Burgundy, that district of Eastern Gaul watered by the Saône, and was there 'ordained,' as Bede says. Coming over to Honorius seeking employment as a missionary, he was sent to preach to the East Anglians. Bede does not expressly say that Honorius ordained him a bishop, but only that he 'sent him.' Here there is some room for a difference of opinion, namely, as to whether Felix came over as a bishop or whether he was made one by Honorius. The ordinary word at that time was 'ordained' where we now use 'consecrated,' and it seems perhaps, on the whole, most probable that when Bede calls Felix a bishop ordained in Burgundy, he means ordained a bishop in Burgundy, and such in fact is one of the traditions in regard to Felix. Others, however, prefer to understand that he was admitted to the priesthood only in Burgundy and to the episcopate by Honorius.

In this conversion of East Anglia two things strike us. In the first place, here at length we have the Gallic Church assisting in the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons, a duty the neglect of which we had occasion to censure on a former occasion.

Secondly, we observe that in this conversion it is a king who leads the way, the bishop coming afterward to second his endeavours. The See of Felix was fixed at Dunwich. Dunwich, now a small fishing village on a lofty cliff overlooking the German Ocean, has seen much better days, and the encroachments of the sea have left it such a fragment of itself that its five ancient parishes have but a single church between them. From the coins and other antiquities found here, the town is believed to have been originally Roman. The See established there in 630 survived until the Danish invasion of 870. The Episcopate of Felix lasted until his death about 647. Felix is regarded as the Apostle of East Anglia, and Felixstow, far down on the Suffolk coast, at the mouth of the Deben, is believed to be named from him. Many are the churches in various places dedicated to this or some other St. Felix, as may be seen in Mr. Parker's Anglican Kalendar, and one of them is the church of Babingley in Norfolk.

Three of the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy have now accepted Christianity, and are under Christian instruction. Two of them, namely, Northumbria (which then included Lincolnshire) and East Anglia, form one continuous expanse for their mutual support. Kent, the third, is isolated between the pagan South Saxon and the pagan East Saxon. Four pagan States remain to be won. Mercia in the centre, now almost surrounded by Christianity either Anglian or British, and all the three Saxon States, East, South, and West.

After the conversion of East Anglia the next great Christian event in Britain is the re-entry of the Church into Northumbria under a new king, Oswald, in 634. Oswald was the son of Ethelfrid, who preceded Edwin. He was also a nephew of Edwin, whose sister Acca, Ethelfrid's second wife, was his mother. Oswald came in by a victory over Edwin's conqueror, Caedwalla, and as that victory had such important consequences for the Church, its locality well merits our attention, more particularly as it was connected with the very first consecrated site in all the province of Bernicia. Bede (iii. 1) states that the place where Caedwalla was slain was called in the English tongue "Denisesburna, id est Rivus Denisi." Bede then goes on to say (iii. 2) that there was shown in his day a venerated spot where Oswald on his way to this battle (*venturus ad hanc pugnam*) "erected the sign of the holy cross, and on his knees prayed to God that He would assist His worshippers in their great distress." It was a rude and hastily-made cross, and when the hole for it was dug the King held it with both his hands until the earth was thrown in, after which he cried to the army, "Let us all kneel and jointly beseech the true and living God Almighty in His mercy to defend us from the haughty and fierce enemy, for He knows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our nation." The place where this cross was erected, Bede proceeds to say, was in the English tongue called Hefenfelth, a word which he latinizes Coelestis Campus, saying that that was the ancient name of the spot, presaging this event and all the miracles that would be wrought there. Hefenfelth is therefore Heavenfield. In the same chapter he informs us that the cross was near the Roman wall and not far from Hagulstad (*i. e.* Hexham, on the Tyne). He likewise mentions incidentally 'ascending' to it from Hagulstad, and also says that in his time (cir. A.D. 730) there had lately been built and consecrated a church there. Moreover, our Ordnance map shows a hamlet and chapel of St. Oswald, close to the wall, about four miles and a half north of Hexham, about a mile east of the North Tyne, and east of where the northern road from Hexham crosses the western road from Newcastle. It is an elevated spot, commanding an extensive view. Such are the data for determining the site of Hefenfelth and Dénisesburna. It should be noted that in Anglo-Saxon *hefen* means high as well as heaven, thus answering to Bede's 'ascend.' We may imagine that Oswald, as he drew near to his enemy, passing over this upland plain, which he found to bear the name of Heavenfield, seized the omen and erected his cross as a pledge of coming victory. The present St. Oswald's in all probability represents the spot. Where Denisesburna is to be found is far more uncertain. Camden suggested Dilston in the parish of Corbridge, some five miles east of Hexham, on the Devil's Water, and south of the Tyne, a long way from St. Oswald's, instead of being very near it. One is more tempted to make it the stream Erring Burn, flowing into the North Tyne between Chollerton and St. Oswald's, about a mile and a half north of the latter. The Welsh name of the battle, in Nennius, is Catscaul, which is felicitously explained as Cath-ys-gual, Battle under the Wall, exactly suiting the immediate neighbourhood of St. Oswald's, but Dilston not at all. The battle may have been fought very near St. Oswald's (and sword-hilts have often been ploughed up in the neighbouring fields), while Caedwalla was slain in the pursuit at Erring Burn, then possibly called Denis's Burn.

The reader will not grudge the time he has been detained over these details when he reads the following passage from Bede (iii. 2), showing that the site of the Heavenfield cross was the earliest in Bernicia ever marked by the symbol of Christianity. "It appears that there was no sign of the Christian faith, no church, no altar, erected through all the nation of the Bernicians before that new commander of the army, prompted by the devotion of his faith, set up the same as he was going to give battle to his barbarous enemy." In reading this passage, however, we are not to forget the Glen where Paulinus baptized by the royal vill of Yeaverin. With these two natural features then, a river and a hill, in far north and far south Northumberland respectively, embracing nearly all the county between them, the earliest Christian memories of Bernicia are associated. The first Christian king we see by the Glen and the baptizing multitude, the second on Heavenfield with his Christian army—two subjects for a painter.

Under Oswald the Church re-entered Northumbria with a new face, a circumstance admitting of a ready explanation. Edwin belonged to the southern province Deira, Oswald to the northern Bernicia, and the rest followed naturally. Edwin was thrown into southern connections, Oswald into northern. Edwin both in his exile and his marriage sought the southern courts, the result being that through him Northumbria received a southern, Kentish, Roman Christianity. On the other hand, Oswald and his brother Oswy in their exile were naturally guided into northern lands, occupied by Christianity of a different type; in this they were reared from early youth, and when they returned in 634, knew no other. What then were the people who received these two princes and proved the friends of their souls? They were the northern Picts, those Celts beyond the Grampian Hills who had Columba for their apostle and Iona for their spiritual mother in the generation before Augustine. To Iona then Oswald, who was bent, as Edwin had been, on planting his dominions with the faith of Christ, sent for Missionaries, and from Iona came Aidan, a saintly man, whose apostolic pastorate called up all Bede's heart and might well warm ours; an apostle indeed, if ever that age saw one, whose name adorns a sacred seminary founded in the north in these modern days, both to honour his memory and revive his spirit. We will follow Oswald and Aidan to their respective abodes after this one more remark, that here again, as we have just seen in East Anglia under Sigebert, it is the King who first shows himself the father and shepherd of his people, and needing no prompter but his own Christian heart, summons the ordained minister to carry out the work.

Under Edwin, the son of the southern branch of the family, the royal city of Northumbria had been York; but under Oswald it is to be looked for in the province which he more especially represented, Bernicia in the north. It was Bebbanburgh, so named from Ethelfrid's first wife Bebba, and it still survives as Bamborough. A huge rock towering above it at the edge of the ocean, and crowned with a mediæval castle, is one of the ornaments of the coast of North Northumberland. Its neighbourhood to the Glen, as mentioned in a previous chapter, will not be forgotten, and the proximity forms a connecting link between the old Mission and the new.

With a new royal house, a new royal city, a new episcopate, there will also be a new See. Where does Oswald establish his spiritual metropolis? Not at York, whose distance from the new capital might not have suited him, and the great church that was rising there had many years to wait for the renewal of its episcopal honours. Aidan himself, too, was allowed the choice of a spot, and Aidan, a son of Iona, knew not York. Ascend the hill of Bamborough, and perhaps there may be discerned under a clear sky, some ten miles to the northward, an island close to the shore, an island at high tide, a peninsula at low. Its name of Lindisfarne has long been changed to Holy Island. Why an island should have been selected we are left to conjecture; perhaps it was that Aidan, coming from an insular abode, desired to have another like it. At any rate, there was this great convenience in Lindisfarne, that it was within easy reach of Bamborough and well within the royal protection. A monastery was erected, and therein was Aidan seated, A.D. 635. That was the cradle of Christianity in Bernicia, although at the Glen and on Heavenfield there had been earlier footsteps of it. Thus we have not only the Church with a new face, Celtic for Roman, we have an entire change of localities; the centre of gravity of Northumbrian Christianity has passed from Roman York to the rock of Bamborough and the island of Lindisfarne.

We may now take a nearer view of the King and the Bishop. Oswald having succeeded to all Edwin's dominion, Southumbrian Lindsey included, was the sixth (Edwin having been the fifth) of those greater kings of Anglo-Saxon Britain who bore the title of Bretwalda (Bed. ii. 5). Outwardly he was probably less striking than Edwin, whom Bede so graphically describes in his Roman capital, displaying his state before the people; and it is his humility and simplicity that Bede dwells most upon. He listens to Aidan's admonitions, and spares no pains to build and extend the Church of Christ in his kingdom. "When the Bishop, who was not skilful in the English tongue, preached the Gospel, it was most delightful to see the King himself interpreting the Word of God to his commanders and ministers; for he had perfectly learned the language of the Scots during his long banishment." A regular stream of Scottish missionaries poured into Northumbria, some of them being priests, but most of them monks, and all met with a cordial reception. "Churches were built in several places, the people joyfully flocked together to hear the Word; money and lands were given by the King's bounty to build monasteries; the English, great and small, were by their Scottish teachers instructed in the rule and observance of regular discipline." These are general descriptions, and it is disappointing to find no localities named. Elsewhere, however, Bede tells us that the cathedral at York, left incomplete by Edwin, was finished by Oswald, and he likewise mentions (iii. 6) a church of St. Peter existing in his day at the royal city of Bamborough, and containing an arm of St. Oswald in a silver case. We need not doubt that this church was built by the King in his own city. In 1773 the remains of what may well have been this church or its descendant were disentombed at the south-east angle of the Castle area.

In his description of Aidan Bede is very full, giving him unbounded praise, and partly no doubt to shame some of his own contemporaries. "His course of life was so different from the slothfulness of our time that all those who bore him company, whether monks or laymen, were employed in meditation, that is either in reading the Scriptures or learning the Psalms." Portraying him more individually Bede writes of the apostolic man—"He was wont to traverse both town and country on foot, never on horseback unless compelled by some urgent necessity, and wheresoever in his way he saw any, either rich or poor, he invited them, if unbelievers, to embrace the mystery of the Faith, or if they were believers to strengthen them in the Faith, and to stir them up by words and actions to alms and good works."

The new Christianity of Northumbria then shows no lacking in quality and substance; the new king and the new prophet are as zealous as the old ones had been; in works and success as abundant. But in regard to form there were some considerable and some slight differences. The Celtic Church had its own episcopal succession, which was distinct from the Roman and Kentish, and it was in no communion whatever with Rome. No Roman pallium came to Lindisfarne. This was a grand difference. The Celtic Church, too, had its own Easter, a difference of much practical importance. It had its own monastic disciple, its own tonsure, its own form of baptism. It had its own ritual for divine service, which was very simple, that of Kent and Rome being ornate and elaborate. Bede, with all his appreciation of Aidan, could not shut his eyes to the difference of the two Churches, and gravely adds that all Aidan's zeal was "not according to knowledge." Others expressed themselves less gently, and some acted with much bitterness. The second conversion of Northumbria made Celtic Christianity immensely predominant. It was now in contact with the Roman in East Anglia, and very much nearer to

Kent than when Augustine went to seek it on the Severn. In the heart of Northumbria itself, however, there was one representative of Roman forms, James the Deacon, left behind by Paulinus in 633. Dividing his labours between York and Catterick, and being "extraordinarily skilful in singing, he began to teach many of the church to sing according to the custom of the Romans or of the Cantuarians" (B. ii. 20).

The Lindisfarne Celtic episcopate lasted some thirty years, from 635 to 664, Aidan being worthily succeeded by Finan, Colman, and Tuda. Before 664 Wilfrid, while yet only a Northumbrian priest, revolutionized much of the ritual, and in 664 the Roman Easter was adopted. The supply of pastors from Iona ceased at once, and Lindisfarne also ceased to be the sole See for all Northumbria.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MISSION OF BIRINUS IN WESSEX.

THE kingdom of the West Saxons, lying between the Thames and the sea, corresponded mainly, at the time we are now entering upon, with Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and it was encroaching westward upon the Britons of Somerset. The capital was Winchester, and the King was Cynegils, whose reign extended from 611 to 643. The reputed progenitor of the West Saxon kings was Cerdic.

Bede's account of the conversion of Wessex (iii. 7), although as to incident and locality somewhat disappointing in comparison with what he relates of Kent and Northumbria, is far from lacking interest, partly perhaps from its challenging a few side inquiries and an occasional speculation.

In the first place it shows us another Bishop of Rome, Honorius (625—638), mindful of the spiritual needs of Britain; for 'by his counsel' there came to these shores the Missionary Bishop Birinus. Of Birinus's country and previous place in the Church Bede says nothing, and it is only a writer of the fifteenth century, Rudborne, who tells us that he was a Benedictine of St. Andrew's at Rome, the monastery which gave us Augustine. In the presence of Honorius, writes Bede, Birinus made a promise to sow the seed of the holy faith "in the inner parts beyond the dominions of the Angli" (as Giles renders, "in intimis ultra Anglorum partibus"), where no other teacher had previously been, and on that condition Honorius promoted his ordination to the episcopate. But what did "beyond the dominions of the Angli" mean, and why was that stipulation so pointedly insisted on? The answer is not difficult. It was taken for granted that Birinus would reach Britain in the usual manner, viz., by crossing the narrow strait into Kent, that Christian Anglian kingdom which the Romans were by this time well accustomed to hear of; and Honorius could not, of course, make himself responsible for the settling of a foreign bishop among a people whose Church and episcopate were already formed under the patronage of Rome. Birinus therefore had to engage himself not in any way to interfere with the Kentish Angli, nor do anything more than pass through them in search of a new sphere where no Christian teacher had hitherto set foot. Having promised to that effect, Birinus was ordained a bishop; not, however, as we should have expected after such a preliminary, by the pope himself, but at the pope's 'command,' by Asterius 'Bishop of Genoa.' Ordination by the pope in person must have been, for some reasons of time or circumstance, impracticable. In designating Asterius Bishop of Genoa, Bede is in error. The See of this prelate was in fact Milan; but the Bishops of Milan had for many years previously resided much and died at Genoa, no surprising thing when North Italy, overrun by the Lombards, was in so perturbed a state. The See itself appears to have migrated for a season to Genoa, and Bede's inaccuracy is a venial one. But that the ordination was at Genoa is a circumstance not to be lost sight of, for it shows us Birinus, like Augustine before him in all probability, pursuing the Great Coast Road into Gaul, so as to push up the Rhone *viâ* Arles and then up the Saône. In one external respect Birinus here differed from his predecessor. Augustine journeyed as an abbot at the head of his monks; Birinus as a bishop, without a companion hinted at, yet attended, we must suppose, by at least a deacon. The lower rank of Augustine reminds us that he was going as a pioneer; but when Birinus went the case was different, and an additional Missionary Bishop for the pagans beyond was entirely appropriate and a real acquisition.

Bishop Birinus did not after all land in Kent among the Angli, as Bede's language appears clearly to intimate, "but on reaching Britain (*Britanniam* *perveniens*) and first entering (*ingrediens*) the nation of the Gevissi (*i. e.* West Saxons), finding the people to be most confirmed pagans (*paganissimos*), he judged it more useful to preach the word of God there than to seek others further off."

If then coasting down from Kent he disembarked in Wessex, as these words seem clearly to imply, two probable landing-places for him may be suggested from the Roman map of Britain, Portus Magnus and Clausentum. Portus Magnus, the Roman Portsmouth, stood at the upper part of the harbour instead of at the entrance where the modern town is. It now survives as Portchester, where an imposing mediæval castle rises, the foundation of whose outer walls and semicircular towers is however ascribed with some confidence to Roman times (Moule, *English Counties*, ii. 399). Clausentum was the Roman Southampton. The mediæval walled town of this name, an oblong down the centre of which now runs High Street below Bar, occupied the south-west corner of that broad tongue of land which lies west of the Itchen estuary. Clausentum stood north-east of this town and away beyond St. Mary's Church, resting upon the estuary opposite Bittern, and on a site now represented by the district of Northam. It is considered by Camden and his modern editors as including Bittern also, thus holding both shores of the estuary, and this identification is supported by ample Roman remains. The Ordnance map limits Clausentum to Bittern, where alone remains now survive. The modern road, which running westward from Chichester followed the coast-line, but at some distance off, through Havant, by Portchester, to Bittern and Southampton, had a Roman representative, which must have been the line of communication in Saxon times, allowing of an easy passage to Winchester and the interior of the kingdom. It may, therefore, be assumed without much risk that the vessels of the first West Saxon invaders themselves entered Britain by the creeks and waters running up towards that road; and if we had to select one of those inlets in particular, we should be decidedly inclined to picture both the pirate shipping and Birinus's peaceful bark steering up the Southampton waters and thence into the Itchen.

The year of Birinus's arrival, omitted by Bede, is recorded in the *Saxon Chronicle* as A.D. 634, which is the established date. It was the year after the death of Edwin, and the devastation of the Northumbrian Church. The enterprise of Gregory and Augustine, now after thirty-six years in imminent peril, might well have stimulated Honorius, and probably it did, to succour the struggling cause by a new mission; but whether or no, while Oswald was coming down from the northern Picts, restoring the cross in Northumbria, and summoning Aidan to his assistance from Iona, Birinus had landed from Italy and was pushing up from the south unknowingly to meet him. How they joined hands at the Thames in the admission of another pagan kingdom to the fold of Christ is now about to appear.

King Cynegils had, besides a marriageable daughter, whose name is unknown, two grown-up sons, Cuichelm and Coinwalch, the former of whom, himself a father, was his colleague in the kingdom, being that West Saxon king who in 626 sent an emissary to take the life of Edwin, and was afterwards chastised by Edwin. Cynegils was therefore in 634 somewhat advanced in life.

In attempting to associate localities with Birinus we are disappointed at finding in Bede no more than a single one; but as that is identifiable beyond a doubt, it remains for us to seek the course of the roads which led towards it. Let us start then from Clausentum and from the promontory of Bittern within the estuary of the Itchen, for Birinus wherever he landed must almost certainly have gained that point. The direction is northward, west of and parallel with the Itchen, through South Stoneham (which in Saxon form preserves the old Roman name Ad Lapidem) and St. Cross up to Winchester, which again preserves the Latin Venta. North-easterly from this capital the modern traveller arrives at Basingstoke, from whence radiate all the main roads of North Hants. In the Roman map the road runs some three miles west of this spot, and seven miles further on Calleva is seen to be the centre of radiation, and in that respect may be called the Roman Basingstoke. The site of Calleva is now famous for one of the most impressive oppidan Roman ruins in England, at the edge of which stands its present representative, the hamlet of Silchester, reached by a country lane, and all that star of roads gone. We are travelling, however, with Birinus, and so take that one of the Callevan roads which runs northwards until it begins to skirt the Thames and Oxfordshire at about Streatley, almost certainly called from 'street,' the Saxon word for a Roman road. Passing through Wallingford we at length cross the Isis just above its junction with the Thame, and upon the Thame a little before it meets the Isis is our goal, the Roman town of Dorocina, now the village of Dorchester. Here we stay, and again turn to Bede, where we read as follows:—"Now as he (Birinus) preached in the aforesaid province (W. Saxons), the King himself having been catechized was baptized together with his people, and Oswald, the most holy and victorious King of the Northumbrians, being present received him as he came forth from baptism (*de lavacro*), and by an alliance most pleasing and acceptable to God first adopted him thus regenerated for his son, and then took his daughter in marriage."

On this passage, which nearly completes all that Bede has to say, let us pause for a few remarks. Where and when Cynegils was baptized (and we should have expected to find as the place the royal town of Winchester) Bede omits to say, but the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us it was Dorchester, not the capital of Dorset, but the spot we have just reached. The year 635 is given by the same authority, and likewise by William of Malmesbury, a very trustworthy writer who flourished after the Norman Conquest. Of Dorchester more will be said farther on, and we now content ourselves with asking if it is possible to resist a conviction that Birinus, since he is certainly found here, travelled by the route we have described: that the walls, the amphitheatre, the crumbling remains and streets of Calleva, so much of which we still behold, were gazed upon by him, and that the original Silchestrians heard his apostolic voice? But we proceed.

Cynegils was catechized (*catechizatus*) or instructed, as Edwin had been at York, "together with his people," thus inaugurating a public and national conversion from idolatry. No timber oratory like that at York in 627 is mentioned, yet it is almost necessary to assume one for the 'lavacrum.' But where are the two sons Cuichelm and Coinwalch, and the daughter? The sons held aloof, reminding us of the two adult sons of Edwin. Cuichelm (about whom Bede is silent) spurned the rite (*recalcitravit*), Malmesbury tells us, but in 636, a little before his death, he repented and submitted. Coinwalch held out for ten years longer. The daughter, for reasons presently to be given, must have been baptized, at latest, soon after her father.

How Dorchester, beyond the natural border of Wessex, came to be the scene of this event, is perhaps not difficult to say. Cynegils and Cuichelm were warrior kings. In 614 they extended their dominions in the West by a great victory over the Britons. In 626 Cuichelm provoked Edwin of Northumbria to war. After that, he and his father inflicted a severe defeat on the East Saxons, and in 628 fought a drawn battle with Penda, King of Mercia, at Cirencester. The two kings were evidently bent on making Wessex supreme, and we need therefore feel no suprise at finding Cynegils established here in the Mercian town of Dorchester, which doubtless represented some territorial gain from Penda. As there were two kings in this growing state, the father might well have statedly occupied the advanced post beyond the river, while the son in weaker health resided more safely at Winchester. Here, then, is the place for a few words about Dorchester. The Thame, as it runs southerly, and the Isis easterly, unite to form the Thames, and upon the Thame, just above the junction, stands our town. The presence of the Romans there is testified by the coins so frequently dug up, and our antiquarians have settled it that the Roman Dorocina occupied the site. Some ancient earthworks, named Dyke Hills, close by, are considered either Roman or else Mercian, and in short there is every sign that we here stand on ground as ancient as Cynegils and Birinus.

Having then brought these two to Dorchester, we have now to account for the presence of a third person—Oswald, King of Northumbria. One thing seems clear, that he could scarcely have touched the Thames with such a foe as Penda in his rear without a military force, and without Penda, himself so lately victorious, having been reduced to submission. Bede calling Oswald 'victorious king' hints as much. Nor should we be far wrong probably in assuming that Oswald had come down to Wessex with the object of asserting that superiority which his title of Bretwalda carried, and if so Cynegils would have additional cause to prefer meeting Edwin's successor on the verge of his dominions instead of in the heart of them. But Oswald is pursuing his end with the humanity of a Christian, and is bent on weaving a new and happier tie between Wessex and Northumbria, which Cuichelm's crime of 626 was meant to sever. Bede's language perhaps indicates more particularly a family alliance, yet the circumstances point to a political one as well. The victories of Oswald, the hand of the princess, the conversion from paganism, all are binding the two houses and the two kingdoms together, while the dominant feature of the whole transaction and the basis of it as an alliance is a common subjection to the faith and sacraments of Christ. Then as to the princess, since Bede expressly states that the baptism of Cynegils and his people was preliminary to Oswald's union with her, her own baptism before the marriage must be taken for granted.

Observing now the rite itself, we note the Church customs of the period. Oswald receives Cynegils issuing from the bath or laver (*de lavacro exeuntem*) 'to son' (*in filium*), though the godfather is young enough for the convert's son. Of all the scenes that have come before us in the heptarchal conversions, this conjunction of the two kings from the north and south at Dorchester is not perhaps the least attractive to the imagination.

Another interest that we have in Dorchester is the circumstance that it became the first spiritual metropolis of Wessex; Bede towards the end of his account of Birinus's mission informing us that "the two kings gave the bishop the city called Dorcic, there to settle his episcopal See." The fact of

Oswald being associated with Cynegils in such an act of authority, so far away from Northumbria, at first surprises us, but it is satisfactorily explained by the consideration that he was present in these parts in his character of Bretwalda.

The remainder of Birinus's mission in Wessex is marked by the following events. In 636, as before noted, he baptized Cuichelm, and in 639 Cuichelm's son Cuthred. In 643 Cynegils died and was succeeded by Coinwalch, still a pagan. In 645, through the enmity of Penda, Coinwalch fled to the East Angles, where in 646 he was baptized by Bishop Felix. In 648 he returned to Wessex to reign as a Christian. Bede finishes his account of Birinus by saying that, having built and consecrated churches and called many to the Lord, he died and was buried at Dorchester. But, again, Bede leaves out the date, which, however, is A.D. 650, after a mission of sixteen years.

No one of these 'churches' is specified by Bede, but we may safely conclude that he built one, his own cathedral, at Dorchester. He is believed to have consecrated the Minster Church at Winchester in 648, which church in 660, when a second bishopric was erected in Wessex, became a cathedral. What the succeeding cathedrals of Winchester have been we need not say; the churches descending to modern times at Dorchester have been imposing and beautiful structures, and not without memories of Birinus. Mr. Gough, the learned and latest editor of Camden, mentions some of these in his additions written for that work in 1781. He describes the south window of the chancel, where (according to his interpretation of the figures) St. Birinus is receiving investiture by the delivery of a cross from Cẏnegils, and Oswald stands behind. One of the ancient bells bore the inscription, "Protege, Birine, quos convoco tu sine fine." The font, thought to be of Birinus's time, was of cast lead, the most ancient and, perhaps, the only one of its kind in the world, adorned with the twelve apostles, and not very large.

In its episcopal history Dorchester passed through some uncommon changes. It was first the See of a Wessex bishopric, and later on the See of a Mercian one. After the Norman Conquest, when under the authority of Church and State several removal of Sees took place, the last Bishop of Dorchester removed his See to Lincoln, yet including in his bishopric the enormous stretch of country between the two cities, and thus began that vast diocese which in later centuries has been gradually reducing, and has only just been contracted to manageable dimensions by the separation of the Diocese of Southwell.

Returning now to Wessex, and observing the balance of faiths, let us note that in its conversion year, 635, it was joining a winning cause. Northumbria had already returned to Christianity and East Anglia had submitted. Wessex made the fourth Christian kingdom, and only three remained pagan, South Saxons, East Saxons, Mercia, the last and greatest being now almost surrounded, but destined to be the next to yield. Concluding with Cynegils, let us note a modern interest which he possesses for us. His successors, kings of Wessex, became eventually, when the heptarchy terminated, sole monarchs of England. The ultimate heir of their line was James the First, from whom the present reigning house descends. Thus Cynegils, the convert of Birinus and the godson of Oswald, was the Queen's first Christian ancestor, and we know exactly the spot and the year where and when the race of Cerdic and Victoria passed over from the temples of Woden and Thor to the Church of Christ —at Tamesian Dorchester, in 635.

The earliest historical appearance of the Cathedral Church of Winchester has been noted, but we can give no reference to Bede for this, and a few lines in conclusion to indicate the source of information appear to be called for. The oldest statement occurs in the *Saxon Chronicle*, which under A.D. 643, the year Cynegils died, records that Coinwalch having succeeded to the kingdom held it thirty-one years, "and commanded the old church at

Winchester to be built in the name of St. Peter." Under 648 again it records, "This year the minster was built at Winchester, which King Cynwalh (*i. e.* Coinwalch) caused to be made, and hallowed in the name of St. Peter." It is sufficient if 'built' here is taken as equivalent to 'completed,' for a great church could not well have been erected from its foundations and consecrated in the very year Coinwalch returned home from banishment. When then could Coinwalch have 'caused it to be made'? He was a pagan from his accession in 643 to his banishment in 645, during which he would not have founded a church, and during his banishment (645—648), although a Christian, he could not have. The Chronicle therefore seems not a little vague in its statements, and when we come to examine it somewhat closer we find that its records here are anything but contemporary. This is betrayed by the expression 'old church.' The passage was evidently entered after the New Minster of Alfred the Great, at the beginning of the tenth century, had arisen at Winchester. We accept therefore the date of consecration, 648, as one sufficiently probable in itself, and containing nothing very disputable, but it has not a Bedæan antiquity about it. Still later Winchester authorities, Rudborne and the *Winchester Chronicle*, relate other details, which may be accepted as representing the Winchester traditions, and as in their leading outline probable enough; such as that Cynegils "in the fourth year of his conversion" himself made all the preparations, demolishing a temple of Dagon (founded by Cerdic) for the site, and charging his son Coinwalch to complete the work. Nothing is more likely to have happened, and if we further assume that the Christian party influenced by Birinus nursed the project during Coinwalch's pagan days, pushed it forward during his exile, and secured his co-operation on his return, the statement of the *Saxon Chronicle* can easily stand; and as we view that glorious minster we may think of the younger son of Cynegils going out a prodigal, coming home a convert, and signalizing his return by a speedy entry into his Father's house—the house at once of his earthly and his Heavenly Father.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NORTHUMBRIAN MISSION TO MERCIA.

MERCIA, colonized like Northumbria by the Anglian race, comprised all the midland part of Britain, having Northumbria on the north, the West Saxons and South Saxons on the south, Wales on the west, East Anglia on the east. Lincolnshire was a debateable land, sometimes Northumbrian, sometimes and more properly Mercian; at the period we have now in view it was Mercian. The principal river was the Trent, the upper portion of which crossed Mercia from west to east in a semi-circular curve to where Newark now stands, while the remainder or lower part flowed in a straight northerly course skirting Lincolnshire to the Humber. That upper part of the Trent divided what Bede calls (iii. 24) North Mercia from South Mercia. In modern English geography the Trent passes through the midst of counties, but borders none except to an insignificant extent in two or three places. East Staffordshire therefore, as well as the great bulk of Derbyshire and Notts, were North Mercia; while

Leicestershire would be in South Mercia. Bede likewise mentions (iii. 21) the Middle Angles, but without defining them, and these are placed by Florence of Worcester in Leicestershire. Diagonally through Mercia ran that Roman road which is now the best remembered, Watling Street, a name borne to this day by a thoroughfare in the City of London, from whence it issued. The Anglo-Saxons evidently thought much of it in so naming it after one of their divinities. It was the North-Western Railway of those days, and in Chaucer's time (how much earlier we cannot say) the Milky Way was the Watling Street of the skies. The royal town of Mercia is nowhere mentioned by Bede, but we should expect to find it in the neighbourhood of the great road, and if it was then Tamworth, as it was above a century later in King Offa's time, it was very near it. Tamworth, on the eastern edge of Staffordshire, was so-named from the stream on which it lay, the Tame, there flowing northward to the Trent; and at Fazeley, no more than two miles above Tamworth, the Tame was crossed by Watling Street on its way towards Lichfield.

Mercia and Northumbria, which we are about to see daughter and mother in the profession of Christianity, were in frequent and fierce encounters almost from the time that Mercia is first discovered as a powerful state, which was about the period when

Northumbria became Christian under Edwin. The Mercian king Penda, the anti-Christ of his time, was the standing assailant of the Anglo-Saxon Churches about him, and died an octogenarian fighting against them to the last. No fewer than five Christian kings fell before him in battle: Edwin of Northumbria in 633; Sigebert and Egric of East Anglia in 636; Oswald of Northumbria in 642; and a fifth to be noticed further on. But at length, in 653, two years before his own fall, the faith which he destroyed obtained an unexpected footing within the heart of his dominions, under the following circumstances.

Oswy, the reigning King of Northumbria, the brother and successor of Oswald, had a son Alchfrid, married to Penda's daughter Cyniburga, and this lady, if not a Christian then, was at all events in after times counted among the saints. This connection between the two families led to another and more eventful one. Peada, Cyniburga's brother, was ruling as an under-king over their father's province of the Middle Angles. Leicester, which we must suppose to have been his capital, about twenty miles east of Tamworth, had been (to judge from its ancient remains) one of the handsomest and most important of the midland towns of Roman Britain. Peada was desirous of wedding King Oswy's daughter Alchfleda, but on arriving at the Northumbrian court he learned that his suit was hopeless unless he and his people embraced the faith of Christ, a far more stringent stipulation than that under which in earlier days Frankish Bertha and Kentish Ethelburga were allowed to receive pagan consorts. In both those cases it was enough if the princesses might take Christian bishops with them; but Oswald, when accepting a Wessex wife a few years later, exacted higher terms, requiring her father Cynegils and his people to adopt Christianity, a precedent now followed by Oswy. We are thus reminded how the balance of power was changing. For well-nigh twenty years had Mercia been environed by Christian Anglo-Saxon states, Northumbria, Lincolnshire, East Anglia, Kent, Wessex, not to mention the Western Britons. Christianity might now speak to paganism with some assurance, and we are not surprised to find Prince Peada in a consentient mood. But he went further than he was asked, for "when he heard the preaching of the truth, the promises of the heavenly kingdom, the hope of resurrection and future immortality, he declared himself ready to become a Christian, even though the lady were refused him, being chiefly prevailed on to receive the faith by King Oswy's son Alchfrid, his relation and friend" (B. iii. 21). What here decides Peada's mind is that feature of the Gospel which had at an earlier day attracted Edwin's thane in the Northumbrian witan, its revelation of immortality. That seems to have been the winning doctrine then; but modern Missions never cease to associate with that consolatory view the companion one of remission through the cross, the grand foundation for a new moral character.

Peada had come to prosecute his suit with a full attendance of thanes, soldiers, and followers, and felt himself, apparently, competent to decide so important a matter without consultation with his father and superior lord; in which case a sub-king of those days possessed no small measure of independence. Time for instruction, however, there must surely have been, if not for a reference to Penda; but at the end Peada "was baptized by Bishop Finan, with all his thanes and soldiers and their servants who had come with him, in a noted village of the King called At-Wall (Ad-Murum)." Among all the heptarchal royal baptisms which have come before us, none have suggested a more impressive scene than this one; a Mercian prince with all his court and troop of warriors admitted to Christianity under the shadow of the Roman Wall, and thence journeying back with a Christian queen and Christian instructors to inaugurate a new religious life for the heart and centre of England. But before we bring them there, let us see if we can approximate to the spot of this great baptizing scene. The Wall at any rate survives in many places, and any part of it will testify to this striking picture. But does Bede give us any clue for finding the royal village (*vicus*)? In another passage (iii. 22) he describes it as "close by the Wall with which the Romans formerly divided the island of Britain, at the distance of twelve miles (*millia passuum*) from the eastern sea." The Roman Wall ran across England from the mouth of the Tyne to near Carlisle, and along the line of its remains are still several places embodying the word 'wall'—Walton, Walbottle, Wallsend, being instances. Bede's Ad-Murum was one such spot, and it is rendered Ætwalle, *i.e.* Atwall, in the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede, made in the time of Alfred the Great, but no place bearing that precise name seems now known. Camden proposed to find Ad-Murum in Walton, and Bede's editor Smith in Walbottle, both of these being about the required distance from the eastern sea, and having the advantage of preserving the word 'wall.' Newcastle-on-Tyne is on the line of the old wall, and some twelve miles from the sea, having within it a district named Pandon, which has also been proposed for the *vicus* Ad-Murum. In favour of this identification is the fact that Pandon is a very ancient spot, and was formerly a suburb of Newcastle, while a tradition prevails that the kings of Northumbria had once a residence there. In going back to such a period, however, we must in imagination divest Newcastle of its coals, its castle, its very name, all of which are post-Norman, and conceive of only the Tyne, the wall, and green woods for the main surroundings. But whatever probability attaches to any of these places, Newcastle and its neighbourhood must needs have included the spot twelve miles from the sea, where this Mercian band took the vows and name of Christianity, and Peada received a Christian queen for the Middle Angles.

They returned home with four missionary priests, three of them Northumbrian Angli, named Cedda, Adda, Betti, and one a Scot named Diuma. These "preached the Word and were willingly listened to, and many as well of the nobility as the common sort renouncing the abominations of idolatry were baptized daily." What then was the attitude of Penda towards this Christian invasion of Mercia? Formally or informally he must have given his consent, since so far from obstructing the preachers, or molesting their disciples, he only expressed contempt for such as received Christianity without yielding the fruits of it. That, too, is an impressive act. The great pagan must have found the new faith too powerful either for his conscience or for his opposition. He had lived to witness it gradually encompassing him, from the time that Northumbria joined the movement in 627, East Anglia in 630, and Wessex in 635. At length, in 653, he found it had gained this remarkable lodgment in the heart of his own dominions and among his own children. Nor was this the only sign of the times. Indications were becoming observable on all sides of the new faith rooting itself among the Anglo-Saxons. It had become independent of the Italian Missions, and a vigorous native ministry was carrying the Church forward. Nine years before, in 644, a native (Ithamar) had been advanced to the Bishopric of Rochester; this very year, 653, a native, Deusdedit, was put into the See of Canterbury, and three native Northumbrians, along with one Scot, are qualified to carry forward the Mid-Anglian Mission.

But neither the advance of Christianity nor the weight of years could curb the restlessness of Penda, and in 654 another blow descended on the Church. This was in East Anglia, where good King Anna, a great promoter of Christianity, fell before him, the fifth of Penda's royal victims. But in that same year, 654, the Christian cause received more than a compensation in the reconversion of the East Saxons, an account of which will occupy us another time. At length, on November 15, 655, the redoubtable Penda himself fell before the army of Oswy in Northumbria.

The time of Mercia's complete conversion was now at length come, for Penda's five sons, Peada, Wulfhere, Ethelred, Merewald, Mercelm, and his two daughters, Cyneswitha and Cyniburga, were Christians; the daughters and the three last-named sons even became known as saints, while all seven were zealous promoters of Christianity. The names of those concerned in the conversion of Mercia and the course of events connected with it must now be reviewed.

The complete rout of the Mercian host in the battle in which Penda fell, threw his dominions for the next three years (655—658) into the conqueror's hands, and Oswy, keeping North Mercia under his own immediate control, made Peada his viceroy in South Mercia, where he had before ruled over the Middle Angles. Peada appointed Diuma the Scot, one of the four missionaries in 653, Bishop, and he was consecrated by Finan, in 656. We know nothing more of him except that he was Bishop of the Mercians, Middle Angles, and Lincolnshire folk, as Bede puts it (iii. 21, 24), and died among the Middle Angles in the 'regio' of Infeppingum. The first syllable 'In' of this word is a prepositional prefix, and Feppingum is the actual place to be ascertained. Repton (in Derbyshire, immediately below the Trent) has not given general satisfaction, and as the identification is still open to conjecture, there is no harm in suggesting Uppingham, in Rutland, between the counties of Leicester and Lincoln. The year of Diuma's death is considered A.D. 658.

Peada had already perished, viz., at Easter 656 or 657. But what of Diuma's three original colleagues? Of Adda and Betti we hear no more; of Cedda we know much more, but that is in connection with the East Saxons, to whom he was sent in 654. Thus the earliest Apostles of the Mercians, who came down from the Wall in that striking manner in 653, are, as far as Mercia is concerned, all buried in obscurity, and it is much the same with their immediate successors.

In 658 the Mercians overthrew Oswy's supremacy and made Penda's second son, Wulfhere, their king. Wulfhere is famous for being the first native Christian king of Mercia, reigning seventeen years (658—675). Lincolnshire was Mercian in his reign; and he also established his supremacy over the East Saxons, into whose country the great military road Watling Street gave him direct access. His three brothers all ruled as sub-kings over some of the provinces of this much subdivided kingdom. Wulfhere appointed for the second Bishop of Mercia, Cellach, a Scot (658—659); and for the third, Trumhere, an Angle (659—662). Both of these were consecrated by Finan, and both their episcopates are blanks to us. Of the fourth Bishop, Jaruman (662—667), more is known, but that is in connection with the East Saxons again, among whom he laboured much. For the next two years (667—669) the celebrated Wilfrid took charge of the vacant Mercian Bishopric, but his history belongs to Northumbria. Thus from 653 to 669 the Mercian Mission is in a mist, and its historical interest leaps over those sixteen years to the arrival of the eminent man who in 669 became its fifth Bishop. This was Cedda's brother Ceadda, better known by his later and more familiar name St. Chad, reckoned the Apostle of Mercia, not as being by any means the earliest preacher there, but as being the first whose personality is at all known to us, as well as the first who was established in a See. His four predecessors were bishops of the kingdom generally, Chad was the first to fix the Mercian Bishopric at Lichfield.

Lichfield, close to the Roman Eteocetum on the Watling Street, was about six miles north-west of Tamworth, and this proximity may perhaps increase the probability of the Mercian capital at that time having been Tamworth. Chad's death occurred March 2, 672, after an episcopate of only two years and a half, much too short a period for him to have done anything towards raising a cathedral, even if his laborious pastorate and his humble tastes had suggested such an undertaking. The simple Scottish Bishops of Lindisfarne rather than a great builder like Wilfrid were his models. Bede's picture of him is that of a man ever traversing his great diocese, like his master Aidan, on foot (B. iii. 28,

iv. 3), ever in his heart commercing with the skies. Thomas of Chesterfield, the mediæval historian of the Bishops of Lichfield, records that the cathedral "constructa est" — was finished apparently — on December 31st, 700, by Hedda, the eighth Bishop of the Mercians, the fourth of Lichfield. That, strictly speaking, was the parent of the present one, which was erected in the twelfth century. There was, however, in Chad's days, an incipient cathedral (if we may so call the church in which he worshipped) at Lichfield and an incipient monastery too. The origin of the church is uncertain, and it was probably in existence before Chad's time, as Bede introduces it only incidentally; but a kind of cell or study (*mansio*) connected with the church was erected by Chad himself:—"He had built himself a habitation not far from the church, wherein he was wont to pray and read with seven or eight of the brethren as often as he had any spare time from the labour and ministry of the Word" (B. iv. 3). Chad's apostolate of Mercia, though in point of duration so evanescent, has through Bede's full and sympathetic memorial made an impression on the heart of England that is fresh to this day.

Another locality connected with Chad and Wulfhere is of less certain identification. Upon land bestowed by the King, Chad founded a monastery at Adbaruæ, interpreted by Bede (iv. 3) "at the grove," in Lincolnshire, believed to be Barrow, near one of the ferries of the Humber. Florence, of Worcester, a later writer, mentions a monastery built by Wulfhere and his brother Ethelred for their sister Cyniburga, and named after her, Kineburgæ Castrum. This is identified as Castor in Northants, four miles west from Peterborough, the site of a Roman station, where many curious vestiges of the Anglo-Romans have been found, and whose church is St. Keneburgh's. But a locality surpassing all the others in one respect is Peterborough, at that time known as Medeshamstede. It would seem from the best conclusions that can be drawn from Bede, the *Saxon Chronicle,* and a record in the *Monasticon Anglicanum,* that this monastery was determined upon by the children of Penda immediately after their father's death, and between 655 and 657, while Peada ruled in South Mercia, and that it was consecrated in 664, in the reign of Wulfhere, and in the episcopate of Jaruman (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 120; Moberly's Bede, iv. 6). The interest of these dates is very great, if they are anywhere near the truth, as they assuredly must be. For in that case the foundation of the monastery was contemporary with the fall of Anglian paganism, and brings before us a family of Christians bent on atoning for their father's error. But still more: as we look on Peterborough Cathedral at this day, we recollect that its foundation marks as nearly as possible the year when the Mercians and the East Saxons, the fifth and sixth of the heptarchal kingdoms, had submitted to Christ. Virtually England had then submitted. The small South Saxon state indeed remained out of the fold until 681; but treating that as a mere exception, we may say that a view of Peterborough Cathedral —and let us add the mention of the See of Lichfield, not much later than the consecration of Peterborough —should always take us back in thought to the day when Britain as a whole had at length cast its idols to the moles and to the bats.

CHAPTER XIV.

MISSIONS TO THE EAST SAXONS, SURREY, AND LONDON.

THE East Saxons occupied a territory which, bounded on the south by the Thames, comprised the modern counties of Essex and Middlesex, with a portion of Hertfordshire on the north of Middlesex. Their metropolis was, on the authority of Bede (ii. 3), London, which he calls an emporium of many peoples resorting to it by land and sea. London was then still guarded by its Roman walls, and as the course of these is well ascertained, we must imagine the town comprised between the Minories on the east and Old Bailey on the west, having London Wall on the north, and the Thames on the south, while the river front extended from Blackfriars to the Tower. The London of that period therefore corresponded generally with the modern 'city,' exclusive of the liberties. The principal thoroughfare northward is believed to have answered to the present Gracechurch and Bishopsgate Streets, and we must conceive as branching off westward from that line a road of which the modern Watling Street is a fragment, running past and south of St. Paul's, and out through Ludgate at Old Bailey.

Even had there been no 'Restitutus Bishop of London' in the list of the Council of Arles in 314, it would have been impossible to doubt that there was a church somewhere in Roman London, at any rate in the last Christian century of the Roman occupation, A.D. 313—410; and in fact it is a tradition that the present church of St. Peter, Cornhill, is the descendant of one then existing. This tradition would make the angle between Gracechurch Street and Cornhill the oldest Christian site in London. Cornhill might well have been part of the main street branching westward to Ludgate, the corresponding one eastward being Leadenhall Street, running out at Aldgate. The church would thus have stood at the intersection of the two main thoroughfares.

From the road issuing out of Ludgate there were two divergent routes, viz., the north-western, which was the great Mercian Watling Street, and the south-western, of which something more may be said. This road, passing up Fleet Street and the Strand to Charing Cross, proceeded through Brentford and Hounslow to Staines, where, crossing by a bridge to the south of the Thames, it ran to Calleva (Silchester) in the north of Hants. We shall refer to this road again. Another of the Roman ways issuing from London and concerning us in this study answered to what is now the Great Essex Road running out of Aldgate north-east to Colchester; and this, inasmuch as it connected the maritime districts with London, would need coast fortresses to keep off piratical intruders; for the sea penetrates the Essex shores in creeks and estuaries at numerous points. One such fortress was Othona, of which no trace is now to be found, and which is believed to have been absorbed by the sea. Further on, reasons will be given for concluding that it stood in the neighbourhood of Maldon. When the legions retired (cir. 410) the sea-rovers could overpower these strongholds, and the Saxons must have done so, thus mastering the road by which they formed the East Saxon dominion, and carried it into as well as beyond London.

The earliest entry of the East Saxons and their metropolis into the Christian fold resulted from their having previously come under the dominion of Kent, and how this should have been possible with such a river as the Thames rolling between the two peoples takes us back to the Roman occupation. Compelled, in a manner, to take the short sea passage as their ordinary one into Britain, the Romans must needs have established their landing-place in Kent, and through Kent therefore lay the main approach to London, *viâ* Canterbury and Rochester. Southwark is accordingly found by its ancient remains to be standing upon Roman ground. A ready passage then between Southwark and London was a constant necessity; and since for such a passage a mere ferry would never have sufficed, there must have been a bridge of either timber or stone, probably the former, spanning the stream. A Roman bridge has not perhaps been demonstrated by archæology, but the necessity for one almost compels us to take it for granted. It was Rome then which, by its great works of communication, predetermined a Kentish ascendancy over the East Saxons as soon as a Kentish king of sufficient weight should arise. One such, and no more, did arise, and he a Christian, Ethelbert. Through his sister's marriage he was the uncle of the East Saxon King Sebert. Under Ethelbert's influence Sebert and his people accepted Christianity, about A.D. 604, and Mellitus, out of Kent, was received as the first Bishop of London. In the erection of St. Paul's, which was Mellitus's cathedral, Ethelbert alone is mentioned by Bede (ii. 3), Sebert's name being quite passed over, leading us to infer that Ethelbert at this time had the supreme direction of East Saxon affairs. Assuming, as we may do, that Ethelbert's St. Paul's stood on the site of the modern church, we must picture it as the western end of London, west and south of what remained of the great Roman mansions, and on the site of the temples of Rome's pagan days, on the brow of the descent towards the western gate. To Sebert has been attributed the foundation of the original St. Peter's at Westminster, but by mediæval writers only, who would fain associate the name of the first East Saxon Christian king with the glories of the Confessor's great abbey. When in 616 Sebert and Ethelbert died, the East Saxons, unconfirmed in their conversion, relapsed into paganism, whereupon Mellitus returned to Kent. Thirty-eight years passed, and in 654, in the reign of Sigebert, another Bretwalda was raised up in the person of Oswy, King of Northumbria, to originate a second East Saxon Church, under the circumstances thus narrated by Bede. Sigebert, he writes, was in the habit of visiting the court of Oswy, who took every occasion to reason with him in a brotherly manner on the folly of idolatry, the majesty of the Creator, and the eternal rewards of the just, until at length "with the consent of his friends he believed, and after consulting with those about him and exhorting them, they all agreed and gave their approbation, and were baptized with him by Finan in the King's village, which is called Atwall." Here then is a repetition of the scene at the Roman wall when Peada and his Middle Angles embraced the Christian faith. The second instance is indeed the more striking of the two, inasmuch as the journey was undertaken with the view to baptism alone, and was a longer one besides, while there would seem no obvious reason why missionaries could not as well have been sent down to baptize the converts in their own court and capital. Was it that the example of the previous year had proved infectious? Or was it that the East Saxons were seeking an alliance against their powerful neighbour Penda of Mercia, who that very year invaded their neighbour East Anglia and slew King Anna? That state pilgrimage from the Thames to the Roman wall was at all events a fact for Penda to take note of; it proclaimed a religious fraternization with the potentate of the North; it was an act of homage to him and his Church, and in that baptism the heads of the East Saxon nation cemented a virtual alliance if not a formal one with Oswy in the interest of their country. For it was not Kent, now a second-rate power beyond the broad Thames, that they had to look to or to fear; from Kent they had long been severed; while in Mercia a newer and more formidable state had arisen, possessing in the Watling Street a direct approach to them, and under the supremacy of that growing power they before very long began to fall.

Turning now more particularly to missionary work amongst the East Saxon people, we find as the apostle of their second Church an interesting man, that Cedda whom we saw coming down from Northumbria in 653 with Adda, Betti, and Diuma, to instruct the Middle Angles. At Oswy's desire Cedda now transferred his services for the evangelization of Sigebert's people, and was ordained a bishop, not by the Archbishop of Canterbury, though so near at hand, but by Finan of Lindisfarne, every circumstance thus marking the fact that the second East Saxon Church was the daughter, not of Kent as the first was, but of Celticized Northumbria.

Proceeding to his diocese, Cedda, in the language of Bede (iii. 22), "built churches in various places, ordaining priests and deacons to assist him in the work of the faith and the ministry of baptizing." Those whom he thus found suitable for ordination could hardly have been East Saxons, and we must presume that they had accompanied him from Northumbria; while the "churches in various places" (*per loca ecclesias*) were probably of timber, unless an exception may be thought likely in two places singled out for special mention, Ythancæstir and Tilaburg. These two, the only ones ever named in connection with Cedda's ministry among the East Saxons, where were they? Ythancæstir is called by Bede a *civitas* on the bank of the river Penta, and the Penta may, without difficulty, be identified with the Essex river Freshwell or Blackwater, in the region of which the name still survives. But there exists another clue to Ythancæstir in the lost maritime fortress Othona, already mentioned. The resemblance of Othona and Ythan is too close to escape notice, and Camden, not without reason, believed the two places to have been the same, reckoning Othona to have stood on the shore of the Blackwater estuary not far from Maldon. The Saxon termination cæstir or cester, which is the Roman castrum, is not always seen to have any special application; but in the present instance it may have one, and Ythancæstir has very much the appearance of being the Saxonized form of Othona castrum. The title 'civitas' shows its importance. It may well have been the principal Roman coast defence which, after the legions had retired, was seized by the Saxon invaders, who thus gained a connection with the eastern road and London itself. The site is believed to have been lost in the sea after Bede's period, and we may now consider Maldon as its successor and nearest representative.

Tilaburg, which Bede places on the shore of the Thames, speaks for itself, and Camden's identification of it with Tilbury is obvious. Of the two places now so called West Tilbury is the one to choose, a mile or two inland from East Tilbury, which lies on the edge of the river. Tilbury Fort in the neighbourhood of both dates only from Henry VIII. There are no Roman remains or road reported in connection with Tilbury. The last syllable of the word (*burg*) is Teutonic, implying a fortified place, and we may consider the town to have been a Saxon defence of the Thames, now represented by Tilbury fort. Of Ythancæstir and Tilaburg together, Bede writes (iii. 22) that Cedda there "gathering a flock of the servants of Christ, taught them to observe the discipline of regular life, as far as those rude people were then capable." This language, somewhat indefinite, implies an attempt to form monastic settlements, and such would be modelled on that freer basis prevailing under the Celtic rule of Lindisfarne, Cedda's spiritual mother.

One anecdote in Bede shows Cedda a fearless disciplinarian towards the great, and with all his apostolic simplicity and labours, bearing himself not a little loftily in the exercise of his office. In one particular, too, we find a contrast to the humble habit of Aidan and Cedda's own brother Chad. Neither of these two would use a horse except in emergencies; whereas the only time we see Cedda traversing the East Saxon country (viz. in the following anecdote), it is on horseback. He meets King Sigebert, who is also mounted, and alights. The king, too, dismounts, and falls at Cedda's feet asking pardon, for he has been countenancing by his presence at an entertainment an excommunicated Thane. The bishop, "using his pontifical authority," touched him with the rod he carried, and predicted his death in the house of that very Thane.

About 660, it is thought, Sigebert the Good, this first Christian king of the second conversion, died in the place predicted, by violent hands, and was succeeded by Swithelm, who is made out to have been his brother.

Swithelm was baptized by Cedda at Rendlesham, in East Anglia, Ethelbald, the king of that country, receiving him "as he ascended from the sacred font." Rendlesham (written almost the same in Bede) lies on the Great Eastern road, in the maritime parts of Suffolk, some fourteen miles beyond Ipswich, and we are left to conjecture why Swithelm in so important a matter is found out of his kingdom and Cedda beyond his diocese. It could and might have been that at the time of Sigebert's murder Swithelm was an exile and a pagan at the East Anglian court, and that Cedda, resorting to him, promoted at once his conversion and his succession, King Ethelbald perhaps standing his ally as well as his godfather. Anyhow, the East Saxon throne still remained Christian.

In 664, the year of the pestilence, died Cedda, and in 665 Swithelm. In his ten years' episcopate the apostle of the East Saxons has disclosed to us absolutely nothing as to the Christianity of London, and in order to gain some view of the great metropolis, it is necessary to proceed both with Cedda's and with Swithelm's successors.

Swithelm was succeeded by two kings reigning jointly, viz. Sebbi a Christian, who apparently ruled in and around London, and Sighere a pagan. Sighere's people, terrified by the pestilence, fell back with him and began the restoration of the idols and the temples; but Sebbi continued steadfast. The bishop had no immediate successor, and both the new kings were in subjection to Wulfhere and Mercia (Bede, iii. 30). Wulfhere, instead of appointing a bishop to succeed Cedda, sent from Mercia his own bishop Jaruman, who, by vigorous efforts, in the course of a year or two (665—666) gained over Sighere and recovered his people. His labours are praised by Bede, but in general terms, and without localities.

We note now that the East Saxons have come, apparently from 665, under Mercian supremacy, and it must be owned that Wulfhere, in sending Jaruman, exercised his responsibilities in a manner becoming a Christian king, while his having to send him at all betokens a dearth, since the pestilence, of well-qualified men for the episcopate. His appointing Wina afterwards is all the more surprising, for Wina purchased (*emit pretio*) the bishopric of London from Wulfhere, furnishing the earliest instance of simony known in the Anglo-Saxon Church. Of Wina's administration no particulars are known, and his death is computed to have occurred in 675.

During Wina's episcopate, however, if the dates are approximately correct, there were two monastic foundations which now call for notice—Barking and Chertsey—their founder being Erkenwald. The monastery of Barking (Bercingum) he placed under the care of his sister Ethelburga; Chertsey he reserved to himself. Barking is nine miles east from London, where the Roding, flowing down to the Thames, is crossed by the road to Tilbury, and according to the Chertsey Register it was founded in 666. In later centuries the church of All-hallows near the Tower of London was a vicarage of this house, and hence the name it still bears, so familiar to Londoners, 'All-hallows, Barking.'

We now direct our attention to Chertsey, called by Bede "Cerotaesei, id est Ceroti Insula" (Cerot's isle we might say), and placed by him near the Thames. An imperfect insularity was produced by the Thames and the Bourn. The abbey, founded, like Barking, somewhere about A.D. 666, as its register stated, renewed again and again, attained high rank and importance in the middle ages, but early in the present century had little left of it besides its precinct. The region in which it was built is called by Bede Sudergeona, by later writers Suthregia, and similar names denoting a south country, giving us the modern equivalent Surrey. Our special interest in Chertsey lies in the fact that it is the earliest discernible Christian site in Surrey, the first Christian mission to the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of that province, while Erkenwald, in the character of its founder and abbot, must be regarded as the earliest missionary in Surrey. Can we then reach any probable conclusion as to the locality from whence this mission emanated?

The region of Surrey, never an independent state in the heptarchal system, was exposed to annexation by the East Saxons, Kent, South Saxons, and West Saxons. Can we assign Surrey and Erkenwald himself to any one of these in preference to the rest? There seems most ground to reply in favour of the East Saxons, though something might be said for the others. In the first place, adverting to the name of Surrey, we ask, What was it south of? The Thames of course first, and the East Saxons. It is now south of Middlesex, which was the western limb of the East Saxons. The East Saxons had two entrances into it, by the bridge of London at one end, and by the Staines bridge at the other, while the road between these two adhered to the Thames as closely as a straight line can keep to a winding river. Forests and a line of downs must have shut it off from the South Saxons.

As to Erkenwald personally we seem to find enough to suggest his connection principally with the East Saxons. His Barking monastery will occur at once. Chertsey, not much above three miles from the Staines bridge, was within easy reach of the London road, and was remote from every other. Then again, the circumstances of Erkenwald having founded his two monasteries one on either side of London, and within easy reach of it, of his legendary life bringing him in childhood under the influence of Mellitus in London, of his ultimately becoming Bishop of London, all create an impression that he was an East Saxon, and perhaps a Londoner. Other statements in Malmesbury and the charters, that in founding Chertsey Erkenwald was associated with Frithewald, a sub-king of Surrey under the Mercian Wulfhere, supports the impression rather than otherwise, as Wulfhere is said to have been about that time supreme over the East Saxons. Thus on the whole, though there is no ground for certainty, there seems some reason to believe that the first missionary station in Surrey was an undertaking from the East Saxon kingdom, and by a Londoner.

With Erkenwald light now appears to break in again upon London, and its gates seem somewhat to open. The Abbot of Chertsey became its fourth bishop from about 675 to about 693, as well as dates can be made out. Bede (iv. 6) says Archbishop Theodore appointed (*constituit*) him, though no hint is given as to the civil authority under which he acted. Erkenwald's activity and zeal as a bishop are celebrated by Bede, in general terms, however, and without the mention of a single locality in London, without so much as an allusion to St. Paul's. But Bede's narrative preserves a little picture of the man himself in the streets of London. He used a horse-litter (*feretrum caballarium*) in his bodily infirmities, and so greatly was this prized after his death that his disciples kept it as a relic, and our credulous historian relates how even in his time its healing virtue restored the sick. One fact, however, is prominent and indisputable, that Erkenwald was the first true apostle of London's second church. That is attested not only by Bede's description, but by the long posthumous reputation of Erkenwald's name. He was the great saint of London and St. Paul's all through the middle ages, and must have been the restorer and second founder of the cathedral. That the present church of St. Ethelburga in Bishopsgate Street preserves in its dedication a memory of his sister, the abbess of Barking, is a natural conclusion, but it is one which the learned do not sanction with any confidence.

The early history of the See of London then has been a fitful one. Mellitus's episcopate ended in disaster; a long apostasy succeeded; Cedda, the second bishop of the East Saxons, is never discovered in London at all; then came another interregnum; Wina, the third bishop, is without a character, without a history, and was probably without influence.

Erkenwald himself has, in his episcopal period, more colour than outline.

But, disappointing as such shadows are within the walls of London, much is to be learnt from the fact that they *are* shadows. As we review them we come to see how impossible it became that Gregory the Great's idea of making London, rather than Canterbury, the metropolitan See of the south should be realized; while attention to other facts explains how it was that Canterbury came to occupy that position instead. The Canterbury succession went on with regularity; and, although the prelates do not appear to have been strong men, or to have done much for the conversion of the heptarchy, the traditions of Augustine and Gregory were sustained until the advent of a truly first-rate man in the person of Theodore, A.D. 669. Theodore's arrival occurred while London was occupied by the weak and unworthy Wina. That constituted his opportunity. By his genius and energy at such a juncture, this eminent prelate gave the chair of Augustine an elevation it had never before reached among the heptarchal churches, completely recovering it from its long eclipse. When at length a strong and popular bishop of London did arrive in the person of Erkenwald, Theodore had already settled the point, and had placed the authority of Canterbury in a position it had never occupied before, and never forfeited afterwards.

CHAPTER XV.

MISSION TO THE SOUTH SAXONS AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

BEDE (iv. 13) represents the province of the South Saxons as stretching south and west from Kent as far as Wessex, a description which identifies it with the present county of Sussex, a long maritime district extending between Kent and Hampshire. With a view to what lies before us, it will be well that we should possess some idea of what must have been a leading characteristic of it in and before the age of Bede. It was especially then a sylvan province, a character which it bears to this day. The 'Sylva Anderida,' 'Andred's Weald,' of the old writers attest that, and the description applies to most of the north of Sussex from one end to the other. The modern aspect of the county brings it all readily to our conception, as does the very map of Sussex, so abounding with 'hursts.' Notwithstanding the felling of the forest, which for centuries before the modern opening of coal-mines went on incessantly in Sussex for the smelting of its ores, the sylvan character predominates, and the loftier eminences frequently reveal the prospect of a continuous woodland, amid which is growing the Sussex oak, still abundant, still unrivalled. Penetrating that forest world of the earlier day, there ran from London towards the coast two Roman roads, reaching two Roman fortified posts, Anderida on the east, Regnum on the west; and that of these two Regnum was the chief might have been guessed from the palatial Roman remains on the line of its road not far off at Bignor on the South Downs. At both these places the South Saxons established themselves, making Regnum, which they re-named Chichester, their metropolis, while on Anderida, which defended a practicable landing-place, they bestowed the name of Pevensey.

Here then were a secluded people, familiar with the watery waste, shrouded from the northern world, impervious to the ever-growing movement towards Christianity; and perhaps to such a situation may partly be attributed the fact of their having continued pagan for above a quarter of a century later than the last of their Anglo-Saxon brethren, and for above eighty years after Kent had received the faith from Augustine. For a mission to the South Saxons from Kent there would seem to have existed peculiar facilities in the maritime Roman road which traversed the entire length of the province from Kent, and from Canterbury itself, through Chichester into Wessex; and it is difficult to avoid the inference that the successors of Augustine failed in their duty towards the South Saxon people. Yet we must not assume too readily. The archbishops may have made attempts of which no records now survive. So active and enterprising a man as Theodore, for instance, was hardly likely to have been indifferent to the conversion of his immediate neighbours; yet Theodore had been archbishop for twelve years before anything effectual was done, and after all the apostle of the South Saxons reached them not from Kent, although in Theodore's time, but from quite a different quarter. It is a circumstance to be considered, that the seat of South Saxon activity was not at the Kentish end of the long province, but at the very opposite extremity, where Chichester lay, and the South Saxons had closer relations with the West Saxons, to whom, moreover, they were more immediately akin than to the Jutish Angli of Kent. The Bishops of Winchester would therefore appear to have been as much responsible as the Archbishops of Canterbury for the long-continued paganism of the South Saxons.

Their first contact with Christianity gave promise of an earlier conversion; and this was when the South Saxon King Edilwalch took a wife from the Christian ruling family of the Wiccii, a people who occupied the Severn regions of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and a part of Somersetshire down to the Avon. The Wiccii formed a province of the kingdom of Mercia, and were governed by an under-king, who in this instance was Eanfrid, and it was his daughter Eaba whom Edilwalch married. Bede, who mentions her baptism and marriage in an incidental manner only, says nothing either as to dates or circumstances (iv. 13). But of Edilwalch's own baptism he gives more, and the *Saxon Chronicle* supplies the date, A.D. 661. It was celebrated in Mercia (and presumably in the province of the Wiccii) in the presence and at the suggestion of Wulfhere, King of Mercia, by whom he was "received from the font as a son." That this baptism was preliminary to the marriage Bede does not say, but from the analogy of other instances we may fairly assume that such was the case. King Wulfhere, in token of his having thus baptismally adopted the South Saxon, bestowed upon him two provinces taken from the West Saxons, the Isle of Wight, conquered by him in 661 (*Saxon Chron.*), and Meanwara. The latter can be identified satisfactorily from modern names in the east of Hampshire adjoining Sussex, viz. East Meon, West Meon, and Meonstoke, a group of parishes lying westward from Petersfield, two of them — East Meon and Meonstoke—giving names to Hundreds. The three Meons must certainly represent the Meanwara of Bede, which may probably have extended, as some suppose, down to the Southampton Water. Thus the South Saxon territory was largely augmented by the baptism of its king, and the great insular province annexed to it leads us to notice how the creeks which penetrate the west of Sussex, one of them bearing the name of Chichester Harbour, connected Chichester with the sea, and gave King Edilwalch easy access to his new dependency.

Baptized in Mercia, and endowed by its powerful ruler with two substantial acquisitions, Edilwalch comes before us not only as a convert to Christianity, but as an ally of Wulfhere as well, and that at the expense of Wessex. Tokens are not wanting, therefore, that for the conversion of the South Saxons the leverage will be supplied in some measure by considerations of state policy, and not by the missionary spirit of neighbouring bishops alone. Between the South Saxons and Kent there are no common politics observable, while between the South Saxons and Mercia there are some, since the powerful and pushing nation of the West Saxons lay upon the borders of them both. With respect to this, however, we must not look for very much information, for of the South Saxons history is nearly silent, and not one of their kings besides Edilwalch is known subsequent to the arrival of Augustine. They enjoy the distinction, however, of having at an earlier period furnished the first of the Bretwaldas.

The Christian history of this province, which we have thus seen beginning from Mercia and the west rather than from Kent and the east, continues from the same quarter; for the earliest mission to the South Saxon commons is discovered in the very western extremity of the province, at a spot called by Bede Bosanham, and described by him as encompassed with sea and woods. Such is exactly the description of the present village of Bosham, four miles west of Chichester, at the head of one of the inlets already noticed. Here was a small monastery under an abbot of the Scottish nation named Dicul, with five or six brethren serving God — as Bede writes—in poverty and humility, "but none of the natives cared either to follow their course of life or hear their preaching." It is not a little interesting to discover this Celtic mission planted among the woods and creeks of Sussex, and so remote from their own people. In all probability they had arrived by way of Mercia, and belonged to that mission stream from Iona which, ever since Aidan had started from it for Lindisfarne in 635, had been descending southwards, first into Northumbria, and after the baptism of the Middle Angles at the Roman Wall in 653 into Mercia likewise. When Dicul's party settled at Bosham we are not informed; it is in the events of 681 that we become unexpectedly aware of its presence, and it is a very natural conjecture that the mission resulted from the baptism and marriage of Edilwalch in 661, and so was furnished through Wulfhere or his viceroy the sub-king of the Wiccii. For twenty years therefore this feeble brotherhood may have been the sole representative of the Christian court of Chichester among the rural South Saxons, the only propagators of the faith previous to the arrival of missionaries of another stock. As we here part from the Dicul mission, of which there is no further information, we may add that Bosham appears to have had a continued ecclesiastical existence. In later days Bosham and its creek became associated with Harold and his fortunes, which have lent it an additional interest, while the quaint appearance of the old fishing village on the shore, as well as the Norman, and possibly Saxon, remains in the church which overlooks it, combine to help the imagination back to heptarchal antiquity.

We now come to the real apostle of the South Saxons, an eminent Anglian of Northumbria, shaken into the midst of them by the contests agitating the Church of the North, Wilfrid, Bishop of York. He was a man fond of power, and invested with no small amount of it, when the King of Northumbria in concert with the Archbishop of Canterbury found it necessary to abridge its sphere, and Wilfrid in 681, compelled to quit Northumbria, sought and found an asylum in the secluded country of the South

Saxons, accompanied by his presbyters, Eappa, Padda, Burghelm, Oiddi. King Edilwalch gladly gave him permission to instruct and baptize all ranks of the people. The country had then been suffering under three years of drought, and Wilfrid found the famine-stricken poor driven to such extremities of despair that they would rush upon death in companies together by leaping from precipices or flinging themselves into the waves. Yet all the while the seashores and the streams abounded with fish, which they, a maritime people, were wholly without the knowledge of capturing, except in the case of eels; and had it not been that Wilfrid saw a way of assisting them in this calamity, his preaching might have proved as fruitless as that of the Bosham brotherhood. Causing eel-nets to be collected from every quarter, the Bishop's men cast them into the sea, and providentially succeeded in taking three hundred fish of various kinds. Dividing the spoil into three parts, he bestowed one hundred fish upon the poor, another hundred on the owners of the nets, and the rest he reserved for his own party. The hearts of the people were now won both to Wilfrid and his message, and there was a general willingness to enter the Christian fold. The Bishop himself (presumably at Chichester) baptized the upper ranks, the assistant priests the lower, and from Bede's statement, that on the very day when the nation received the sacred rite a soft and copious rain descended, restoring verdure and fruitfulness to the land, it would appear that some special day was set apart for a simultaneous administration, one of the two chief baptizing festivals, probably, either Easter (which in 681 fell on April 14th) or Whit Sunday (June 2nd), of which two days (or their eves) Bede's expressions might seem to allude, perhaps more particularly to the later.

The grateful Edilwalch now bestowed upon Wilfrid and his priests a permanent settlement, the locality of which is clearly designated by Bede, and can be accurately identified. He names it "Selæseu, quod dicitur Latinè Insula Vituli Marini." The *vitulus marinus* was a seal, and *selæs-eu* is seal's island, so called perhaps from seals having been seen to congregate there. It is now Selsey. Bede renders by 'island,' both the syllable *eu* in Selæseu and *ei* in Cerotæsei (Chertsey), the two words *eu* and *ei* being evidently dialectical varieties. In describing Selæseu, however, he makes the spot not actually an island, but a peninsula, and expressly calls it one. Cerotæsei, therefore, between the Thames and the Bourn brook, though Bede does not call it a peninsula, may have been one in fact, and it is perhaps not essential to discover any third stream, in case there should be a difficulty, in order to prove an absolute insularity for the spot.

We have now then to find the 'peninsula' of

Selsey, which Bede describes as surrounded on all sides by the sea, except on the west, where there is an ingress about a sling-cast wide leading into it. The ordinary map shows nothing like a peninsula united to the mainland by an extremely narrow neck. On the contrary, we find a promontory with a very broad base narrowing down to Selsey Bill, having on the eastern coast at Pagham (a spot, by the way, of some ancient ecclesiastical interest), an indentation which goes some little towards making a neck, but far from penetrating deep enough to form the narrow one described by Bede. Some maps, however, show a tiny stream running southwards near the western coast, and after a while suddenly doubling back in a north-easterly direction to end in the creek of Pagham. That stream it is which defines the peninsula we are in search of, and the narrow neck lies between its upper waters and the western coast. All becomes obvious when we have exchanged the ordinary county map for the Ordnance Survey, where the little stream is seen to be trickling between extensive marshes, which spreading out from each bank reduce the narrow space on the west to a mere neck, just broad enough to admit of a road. When flooded by rains and tide the marshes (in Bede's time at any rate, if not now) might be hardly distinguishable from the sea itself, and as they accompany the stream right into the Pagham creek, Bede's description of a peninsula nearly surrounded by 'the sea' is amply justified. The Ordnance map names the spot thus delimited by the marshes and the sea, 'Selsea Peninsula,' and so all possible doubt is removed. That was the 'land of 87 families,' granted by Edilwalch to Wilfrid, with all that it contained, property, and lands, and people. The people were baptized, and among them were 250 serfs, male and female, who with their baptism were allowed their temporal liberty. At the eastern side of the present peninsula, half a mile away from the sea, stands the village of Selsey in one long street, and the parish is reckoned to contain nearly 3500 acres.

Wilfrid then was the first bishop of the South Saxons, and the monastery which he built in the Selsey peninsula was his See. A man of architectural skill and of splendid ideas, he could have erected in that isolated and unromantic spot a cathedral church equal to his great works at Hexham and Ripon; but it is inconceivable that he should have attempted such a thing, stranger and sojourner that he was, and we must conclude that the chapel of his monastery sufficed him for a cathedral.

In 685 or 686 a great blow fell upon the South Saxons, and it came from the west; when a West Saxon army, headed by Caedwalla, burst into the province, and Edilwalch, just a quarter of a century after his baptism, was slain. Few particulars are known, but Eddins, the contemporary and biographer of Wilfrid, represents not only the Selsey establishment safe and respected, but the Bishop himself honoured and even consulted by the conqueror. Seeking him in his peninsula, Caedwalla, although unbaptized, entreated his friendship and besought him to be a father to him; and being intent on recovering the Isle of Wight to Wessex, he vowed that in case of success he would devote a fourth part of it to God (Bede, iv. 16). Proving victorious, he kept his vow by granting that portion to Wilfrid, who in turn bestowed it on Bernwin, one of his clergy and also his nephew, giving him as an assistant in his missionary labours a presbyter named Hiddila. These two were then the apostles of the Isle of Wight, which up to that time had remained pagan; but no particulars of their ministry are known, no localities are named, and what they did with the fourth part of the island is not explained.

About this time, A.D. 686, Wilfrid, having occupied his Selsey peninsula for five years (Bede, iv. 13), retired, first into Mercia, and afterwards to his own diocese in Northumbria, a reconciliation having been effected through Archbishop Theodore. He had no immediate successor as bishop of the South Saxons, for the whole province was annexed to Wessex, and ecclesiastically was placed under the See of Winchester (B. iv. 15, v. 18), again showing a western and not an eastern connection. The first bishop of the South Saxons after Wilfrid, and the first that was ever consecrated for the See of Selsey was Eadbert Abbot of Selsey, in 711, his consecrator being unknown (B. v. 18). His successors continued for above three centuries and a half until after the Norman Conquest, when the See was removed to Chichester, some ten miles distant. Of the cathedral which served for the South Saxons all that time, not a vestige now survives. Camden, three centuries ago, wrote that in his day the site of the old city was covered by the sea when the tide was in, but visible at low water. The cathedral was thought to have been a mile east of the present parish church of Selsey, and if so, it must have stood in what is now the southernmost corner of the Pagham creek.

With the South Saxons and the Isle of Wight we have reached the last of the great branches of the Anglo-Saxon people to submit to the faith of Christ. We started from Kent, and we end with Kent's neighbour Sussex. For a recapitulation and some general remarks suggested by the whole view, as well as for a brief notice of the circumstances which led the seven heptarchal Mission Churches to become consolidated into one communion which thenceforth bore and still bears the name of the Church of England, we refer to our next and concluding chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HEPTARCHAL CHURCHES CONSOLIDATED.

THE method by which the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity, namely, by kingdoms, produced a heptarchy of churches, and we are now to see how these eventually became one united body, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND which has descended to our times.

The obstacles which had to be overcome in the process of unification were chiefly these two, the great extent of the dioceses, and divergencies in Church customs. The vastness of the bishoprics arose from the circumstance of the original mission in each state having been headed by a bishop, whose diocese therefore afterwards remained conterminous with the dominion in which he laboured. An episcopate of no small authority and power was thus founded, helping to protract and intensify the independence of the churches. The most overgrown and independent of the whole group was unquestionably the Church of the great kingdom of Northumbria, especially when it passed from the control of the humble prelates of the Scottish succession at Lindisfarne, Aidan, Finan, Colman, into the hands of an aspiring Englishman like Wilfrid, who became its bishop in 664, and filled Britain with his history until his death in 709. By his uncommon capacity, his high Northumbrian connection, his unwearied labours, and his splendid foundations, that eminent man grew into a kind of pope within his native province, and would brook little control either from his king or from the Archbishop of Canterbury. The history of the formation of the English Church is largely made up of the history of the controversy with Wilfrid.

Variety in Church customs sprang from a difference in the sources of the missions. Kent, from its having been the field of Augustine's labours, ever remained the special abode of Roman ways. Wessex, the sphere of another Italian mission, and East Anglia, which received much assistance from Kent, must be regarded as being more or less after the Roman model. On the other hand, Northumbria, from its second conversion through Iona, was the representative of the antagonistic system, and as that province was the most active in the propagation of the faith, for which it secured an entry into Mercia and among the East Saxons, the Celtic partialities enormously predominated in geographical extent, bidding fair to prevail throughout Anglo-

Saxon Christendom. Thus there was not only an element of independency and isolation in the various churches of the independent kingdoms, but also an ecclesiastical rivalry ranging them in two party groups, the South being predominantly Roman, and the North anti-Roman.

Two famous men stand before us in the process of breaking down those great obstacles to unity, each playing his distinct part. One of them was no other than Wilfrid, whose province it was to bring about a ritual agreement. Bred up at Lindisfarne, the very head-quarters of Northumbrian Celticism, he early conceived a rooted discontent with it, and there can be little doubt that a predilection for the opposite model was encouraged by the queen, Kentish Eanfled, the wife of Oswy, King of Northumbria. Under her auspices and from her palace at Bamborough he set out, quite a young man, on an express mission to find a better way for the Northumbrian Church, and on her introduction paid a long visit to the Court of Kent, at which he obtained a travelling companion in Benedict Biscop for a journey through the continent to Rome. At Canterbury and at Rome he became fully instructed in all the complications of the Gregorian worship, returned an enthusiastic convert to Northumbria, erected churches and monasteries on the foreign models, in foreign beauty, for foreign rites, and laboured with all his might to decelticize the whole Church of the North. The grand triumph was when he succeeded at the Council of Whitby in 664 in getting the Roman Easter adopted in the place of the Celtic, shortly after which he was advanced to the bishopric of Northumbria. To effect such a revolution as that was a matter indeed of no very great difficulty; for it was not Celts in blood, the British born, that he was decelticizing, but Anglo-Saxons. Their Celticism was no more than a single generation old, and only skin deep, while the new ritual, attractive in itself, symbolized no burning questions that were felt to be burning then and to them. Thus through Wilfrid's instrumentality all Anglo-Saxon Britain that was not Roman before became Romanized, and it is in part for this achievement that his name has acquired the distinction it bears in early English Church history.

The next pressing necessity with a view to amalgamation was that there should be developed a central authority, to which the various independent mission churches, as they yet were, might be willing in some measure to submit. There must be a primacy, in short, if there was to be subdivision and subordination; and a primacy had to be created; for it is not enough to say that before 669 no real or effective primacy existed; there was not even a nominal one, and the only thing like it was the

Celtic episcopate of Lindisfarne, which between 635 and 664 had exercised an unobtrusive authority in the distant churches of its foundation or under its patronage in Mercia and Essex. We naturally, therefore, direct our view towards the chair of Augustine.

Neither in the See of Canterbury, where we should have anticipated one, nor in that of London, where Pope Gregory had designed one, had any real head of Anglo-Saxon Christianity arisen. How little was to be looked for at London before 669 was seen in a previous study, while from Canterbury, which had shown too little activity and no success beyond Kent, there was not much more to hope. Kent itself had been declining in political consequence before some of its advancing neighbours, and its See had kept below the surface, giving but small promise of what it was about to become. Had Wilfrid shown himself as wise as he was pushing, Northumbria and its great bishopric would have probably developed a primatial chair at York.

The crisis came in 667, when the entire Anglo-Saxon episcopate had become through deaths reduced to a very low ebb. Two of the kings took counsel in the emergency, Oswy of Northumbria and Egbert of Kent; and those very appropriately—Oswy representing the most powerful of all the seven kingdoms, Egbert the most venerable of all the churches. The See of Canterbury was vacant; Wilfrid, now in the early years of his episcopate, was in sullen relations with his king. Things, in fact, were as unpromising as they could be when Oswy and Egbert came together. Fixing on Wighard for the vacancy at Canterbury, they judged it best that he should go for consecration to Rome. Thither he went, and there died, whereupon Pope Vitalian selected for his successor an Eastern monk driven to Italy by the troubles of his country, Theodore of Tarsus. Theodore was consecrated March 26th, 668, and on May 27th, 669, arrived at Canterbury to commence a memorable episcopate. Wilfrid, Chad, and Wina were then the only bishops left in the heptarchy, himself making the fourth. One of his earliest measures was a visitation of Northumbria, where he found the Church in much difficulty, owing to Wilfrid's discontent; and in truth the state of affairs in that quarter reveals pretty plainly what it was that brought Oswy and Egbert into counsel, and by that means Theodore into Britain. Oswy, having no primatial or synodal action to invoke, had been interfering with Wilfrid's bishopric on his civil responsibility alone, giving Wilfrid therefore a reasonable cause of complaint. By a judicious exercise of his office Theodore now made all smooth, and his presence brought the very help that was needed. This was indeed not less a gain to Canterbury than to Northumbria; for no bishop of Canterbury (as that title rather than archbishop more fitly describes him until then) is known to have visited the north before; but here is Theodore officially present in that distant quarter, and by bringing a troublesome difficulty to a happy conclusion, doing not a little to secure a welcome for his office again and elsewhere.

The next striking sign of growth in the Primacy of Canterbury is to be seen in the catalogue of bishops consecrated by Theodore. Seldom indeed had his predecessors ever been called upon for that duty. They had occasionally to refill the neighbouring See of Rochester, and for more than that there was hardly an opportunity as long as the Church was so contracted; while during its expansion Celtic influence predominated, and the Lindisfarne prelates were chiefly resorted to. Now, however, in the very first two years 669, 670, Theodore supplied the Bishoprics of Rochester, East Anglia, and Wessex, besides confirming the somewhat doubtful episcopal character of Chad, and moving him into Mercia. In the person of Theodore, therefore, the Archbishop of Canterbury is at length getting a hand into every Church and every kingdom of the heptarchy.

The next step in the development of the Primacy and the consolidation of the churches is to be found in the rise of synodal action, when at the summons and under the presidency of Theodore there assembled on Sept. 24, 673, at Heorutford (Bede, iv. 5), the first recorded proper ecclesiastical synod of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. At this gathering there were present, besides the president, four bishops in person, those of Rochester, Mercia, East Anglia, Wessex, and Wilfrid of Northumbria by proxy; so that with the exception of the East Saxons, each of the six Christian kingdoms of the heptarchy (the South Saxons being pagan) was represented. Theodore produced ten articles, all on discipline, for their adoption, laying much stress on the fact that they "had been formerly canonically decreed by the fathers," not asking them therefore to enact original canons of their own, but to adopt established ones, evidently aiming to graft the young Church into the old one, that the life of the old might flow on in the young. One of the rulings must by no means be overlooked, that the synod should in future assemble every year on the first of August at Clovesho. Thus in this first gathering of the Church provision is made for its continuous regulation as a common body, and the heptarchal bishoprics are bidden annually to refresh at Clovesho the recollection that though divided through independent kingdoms, they constitute one Church in Christ. As far as any single circumstance can represent the founding of the English Church, here we are in the presence of it at Heorutford on Sept. 24th, 673. Heorutford might be called the cradle, and Clovesho the nursery, of the Church of England. Where were they? Bede gives no clue, but Heorutford is with one consent Hertford; while Clovesho, also Clofeshoch, is much disputed, an opinion being in favour of Cliffe-at-Hoo in Kent, an old ecclesiastical spot, at all events.

The second synod of the young Church, held on Sept. 18th, 680, at Haethfeld (B. iv. 17), offers the particular interest of having been the first which ever dealt with doctrine. There was a special call for its doctrinal voice in the circumstances of the times, when the theological world was much engaged with the subject of Monothelitism, a heresy which wronged the Person of our Lord. In this gathering the English Church declared itself on the orthodox side, and besides expressing itself on Monothelitism in particular, formally accepted the four general councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451). Thus while at Hertford in 673 the growing Church linked itself with the body at large in discipline, it declared at Haethfeld a doctrinal unity with it also. Haethfeld must therefore interest us as deeply as Heorutford and Clovesho; by general agreement it is Bishop's Hatfield in Hertfordshire.

There now remains to be considered the subdivision of dioceses, a subject which, after a few imperfect attempts, practically starts from 673, the year of the Hertford synod, but after the synod, the first bishopric to be permanently subdivided being that of East Anglia. For the aged and infirm Bishop of Dunwich, who had attended the synod from that kingdom, Theodore found no difficulty in substituting two others, placing the second See at Elmham. Both Dunwich and Elmham are now merged in Norwich. But the grand business was to divide Northumbria, a bishopric which presented the worst example of exaggerated dimensions, and occasioned the greatest conflict from its being occupied by a prelate of Wilfrid's commanding powers and great ambition. The story of it, which opens in 678, midway between the two synods, would show a striking contrast between some ancient and most modern ideas attaching to subdivision. The abridgment of his own consequence is the last thing which an overtasked diocesan now thinks of, if he can see more workmen employed in producing better work. As to details of the outbreak between Wilfrid and the Archbishop our historians are not clear, but the outline can be fairly made out, and the struggle seems to have been precipitated thus. In 678 Egfrid, King of Northumbria, conquered Lindsey (Lincolnshire) from Mercia, and annexing it to his dominions placed over it (at Sidnacester, probably Stow) a bishop named Eadhed, whom Theodore consecrated (B. iv. 12). Wilfrid seems to have regarded that appointment as an encroachment on his rights, just as though his bishopric was necessarily conterminous with the dominions of Northumbria however they might expand. A protest ensued, which led to a quarrel, in the course of which Northumbria itself was divided into two dioceses—Deira in the south, with York for its See, and Bernicia in the north, with either Hexham or Lindisfarne for a See. That arrangement was never receded from in spite of all Wilfrid's protests, Theodore himself supporting the King's measures. To limit a spiritual jurisdiction so exorbitant was the interest both of the King of Northumbria and of the Archbishop of Canterbury. To the king Wilfrid must have proved little else than a pope and a rival, as shown by the terms of the Queen's complaint to her husband, dilating on the Bishop's great wealth, his secular pomp, his multitude of monks, the grandeur of his edifices, the countless army formed by his guilds, language which indicates a large organized party devoted to the prelate, and making him a formidable power in the state. Archbishop Theodore, too, must have seen that with a potentate like that for a suffragan, any real primacy in a contracted bishopric like that of Canterbury was out of the question. Theodore and Egfrid both proved firm, though Wilfrid moved heaven and earth in his cause, appealing to the pope, going in person to Rome, bringing home bulls and carrying them into Northumbria like triumphant banners, enduring imprisonment and exile, flying from his bishopric and his duties. He was never Bishop of Northumbria again after 678. In 681 his great province had become divided into four bishoprics—York, Hexham, Lindisfarne, Whithern. But Theodore was proceeding on a settled plan in other parts. In 680 the kingdom of Mercia contained six dioceses, Lichfield, Leicester, Hereford, Worcester, Dorchester, Lindsey (now again Mercian). Thus, when Theodore died in 690, there were sixteen Sees, though Wessex was still undivided, and remained so until 705. The South Saxon bishopric had been formed in 681 under Wilfrid, in one of his exiles. By this latter year, therefore, the Anglo-Saxon Church of England was practically formed in ritual and paschal uniformity, in primacy, in synods, and in sees. In respect, however, to *provinces*, it was not yet fully developed, and there was but a single one, Theodore being the sole metropolitan, as also was each of his successors down to 735, when the See of York received archiepiscopal rank.

Theodore of Tarsus then is to be reckoned the father and founder of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, and a few illustrative words from Bede will perhaps here be welcome. "Theodore visited all the island, wherever the nations of the Angles inhabited; for he was most willingly entertained and heard by all persons." "Theodore visiting all parts, ordained bishops in proper places, and with their assistance corrected such things as he found faulty." "This was the first archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed." (B. iv. 22.) The long unbroken succession of consecrations to which the name of Theodore is attached, no fewer than twenty or twenty-one, averaging one a year in the twenty-one years of his occupation of the See, is a very striking feature in that part of Dr. Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum.* One thing Theodore is sometimes incorrectly credited with, namely, having formed England into parishes. This cannot be made out, and the current assertion implies a misunderstanding both of Bede and of the history of the Parish.

In conclusion, we may make this further remark, that the Church of England is more ancient, not indeed than the *state* of England, as it is sometimes incorrectly worded, but than the *monarchy* of England. The heptarchy was still running when the Synod of Hertford was held in 673, and did not give place to the monarchy under Egbert of Wessex until 830. Thus there was an ecclesiastical union among the Anglo-Saxon race for some century and a half before there was a civil one; and it would be an interesting study to ascertain how far the Church of England was even one means of promoting the Monarchy of England. But however that might be, this fact remains, that the English race found in their Church their earliest uniting bond, and in their Church Synods of Hertford and Clovesho held the earliest common assemblies representing their various national divisions. May that Church, which still exists, prove more than a fond reminiscence of a remote past, and never be justly charged with being a divider instead of a uniter.

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